





55210/B

Vol. 2

WYNNE, John Huddleston



















A  
GENERAL HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE  
IN  
AMERICA:

Containing,

An HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, and COMMERCIAL VIEW  
of the ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS; including all the  
COUNTRIES in NORTH-AMERICA, and the WEST-  
INDIES, ceded by the PEACE of PARIS.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

By MR. WYNNE.

FORTIA FACTA PATRUM, SERIES LONGISSIMA RERUM  
PER TOT DUCTA VIROS ANTIQUÆ AB ORIGINE GENTIS.

VIRG. ÆN. I. 641.

L O N D O N,

Printed for W. RICHARDSON and L. URQUHART, under  
the Royal-Exchange.

M DCC LXX.



GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE

IN

A NEW EDITION

OF

THE HISTORY OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

BY J. W. W. W.

PRINTED BY W. B. B. B.

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



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IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE  
IN  
AMERICA.

**W**E concluded our last volume with the capture of two French ships of war, the Alcide and the Lys, by admiral Boscawen's squadron off Cape Race, in Newfoundland. This was, properly speaking, the commencement of the last war; in which, as is well known, Canada, the history of which we are now writing, was entirely conquered from the French. It is true, the operations of this war were not confined to that province, but extended over the whole continent; notwithstanding which, we shall, in this place, give a connected and uninterrupted history of it from its first breaking out, till its conclusion by the peace of Paris. By this means the reader

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will

will have before him, a full and compleat view of these great and memorable transactions by which such mighty and important changes have been wrought in the system and policy of the new world : whereas, were we to pursue that plan which the nature of our work seems to require ; were we to be guided in our accounts of the warlike operations by the geography of the places, or the names of the provinces where they happened, it is manifest, that the narration would be rendered broken and obscure, and would convey neither amusement nor instruction.

This war, which spread afterwards like a devouring flame over every quarter of the globe, so as in a manner to threaten the destruction of the human species itself, begun, and took its rise, from disputes about territory in the immeasurable deserts and wilds of North America, regions which never were cultivated, were always thinly inhabited, and many centuries must of necessity elapse before it can be said that they properly deserve the name of either : yet these very circumstances, I mean the immensity of the country, its being uncultivated and scarcely inhabited, which it might have been thought would have kept all quarrels about its possession at an infinite distance of time, were the very causes which hurried the contest on. This part of America (besides the Indians, who seem to be an inferior race of men, certainly destitute, and, to appearance, incapable of a regular European civilization) was inhabited, as far as it can be  
said



said to be so, by the French and English : the latter were in possession of the sea coast, the harbours, and mouths and banks of the rivers ; and some, though a very inconsiderable number, had settled it may be as far as a hundred, or one hundred and fifty miles back in the country : the former were not in possession of any sea-coast or harbours on the continent, properly so called, but had made settlements on the two great rivers Mississippi and St. Laurence, the one running south, and the other north nearly, their sources being at no great distance from one another, and forming a line almost parallel to the sea-coast claimed and inhabited by the English. Here surely was extent of territory sufficient for the emigrants of both nations, had they been in numbers infinitely greater than they actually were, and had they attended solely to the avowed purposes of those emigrations, to the planting and settling those uncultivated wastes and forests, which they either seized as uninhabited, forceably took possession of, or fairly purchased from the barbarous natives : it must have been long before their interests clashed, or they could have possibly interfered with one another : but there is no setting limits to the restless desires and ambitions of men. However, besides this consideration common to all the human race, there was another which involved these two nations in wars and bloodshed more readily perhaps than would have happened to any other two nations in the world ; I mean that hostile disposition which has for many centuries, at least

ever since the days of Edward III. subsisted between the natives of France and England, and which has broken out into numberless wars, attended with a greater effusion of blood than in those between the Greeks and Persians, the Romans and Carthaginians, wherein the empire of the world was disputed and determined. The French and English carrying their hereditary animosity with them from Europe, it frequently occasioned the commission of open acts of violence in the new world, when their respective states were at peace in the old one. Thus the seeds of a bloody contest between the two nations in America were sown with the very first settlement of both in it; which has at last happily ended for both in the extirpation of one of them from that country. This event was hastened rather than delayed by the immensity of the territory for which they were disputing: for this naturally prevented any boundaries being amicably fixed between them from the first; and when once disputes had begun upon this point, and national honour, or private interest, came to be concerned, or which is the same thing, were thought to be so, it was perhaps impracticable ever after. Besides the indefinite, and indeed ridiculous and extravagant charters, or grants of land, made by the sovereigns of both kingdoms to their respective subjects, necessarily made both look upon each other as mutual encroachers. These are the general principles which rendered an American war inevitable, one time or other, between the two nations; and here follow



follow the particular facts and circumstances which hurried on that which we are now to treat of.

The hasty and ill-digested treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had finally determined none of the points in dispute between Great-Britain, on the one hand, and the crowns of France and Spain on the other; particularly the boundaries of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, which had long been a bone of contention between England and France; and the property of the four neutral islands in the West Indies, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, and Dominica, were left to be settled by the uncertain method of commissaries, wherein it is easy for either party by chicanery, by multiplying memorials, answers, and replies, to protract the decision to an unlimited time. Before the commissaries were appointed on either side, or met for that purpose, and very soon after the conclusion of the peace, the government of Great Britain had established a colony in Nova Scotia, and built the town of Halifax on the bay of Chebucto, where there is one of the finest harbours in the world. The only regular settlement which before this time the English possessed in this province, was at Annapolis Royal, called, when in the hands of the French, Port Royale, where, ever since the peace of Utrecht, they had maintained a small garrison. The rest of the province was inhabited by those called French neutrals, who though by treaty they might rather be deemed subjects of the British crown, yet still retained all the passions and affections of their ancestors, and the people

whose language they spoke, and whose manners and customs were familiar to them. Accordingly upon every dispute or misunderstanding between the two crowns, these colonists were extremely alert in harrassing the British settlers, and inciting the Indians to disturb them by their usual method of carrying on war by sudden incursions, ambuscades, and scalping parties. The court of France could not decently take open offence at this new colony established on the bay Chebuëto, for it was undoubtedly in that part of Acadia which they themselves never disputed being British property. This settlement, however, being from the first powerful and formidable, having met with extraordinary encouragement from the British legislature and government, gave great umbrage to the disaffected neutrals, who failed not to renew their usual practices, and to distress and harrass the infant colony all in their power, with the intention, no doubt, of forcing them to abandon their project.

Much about the same time the French, in direct contradiction to the most express treaties, had attempted an establishment upon Tobago, one of the neutral islands. Mr. Grenville, governor of Barbadoes, having received intelligence of this matter, dispatched captain Tyrrel, in one of his majesty's frigates, to enquire into the particulars; and that officer found above three hundred men already landed, two batteries erected, and two ships of war lying before them to protect the new settlement, who had besides received promises of an immediate



mediate reinforcement from the marquis de Caylus, governor of Martinico, who had published an ordonnance authorizing the subjects of the French king to settle the island of Tobago, with assurances, that he would defend them from the attempts of all who should presume to oppose their undertaking. This part of the proclamation was in answer to one issued forth by the governor of Barbadoes, and affixed in different parts of the island, commanding all the inhabitants to remove in thirty days under pain of military execution.

Captain Tyrrel, with a spirit becoming a commander in the British navy, immediately on his arrival gave the French officers to understand, that their master had no right to settle the island which had been declared neutral by treaties ; and that, if they would not voluntarily desist, he should be obliged to employ force to compel them, and drive them off. Night coming on, and Mr. Tyrrel's ship falling to leeward, the two French commanders seized that opportunity of making the best of their way to Martinico, and the English captain returned next day to Barbadoes, having no power to commit hostilities.

Accounts of this affair, together with a copy of the French governor's ordonnance, being transmitted to the court of London, a courier was immediately dispatched to the English envoy at Paris, with directions to make representations to the court of Versailles on this subject. The French ministry, sensible of their weakness, and of the imprudence

of hazarding an immediate rupture, and being informed how much the merchants and people of Great Britain were alarmed and irritated at their attempts to possess these islands, thought proper to disown the proceedings of the governor of Martinico, and gave the satisfaction required, by sending him orders to discontinue the settlement, and evacuate the island of Tobago.

This business, together with the transactions in Nova Scotia, naturally brought on the meetings and conferences of commissaries, to settle the matters in dispute. These were held at Paris, but, as might be foreseen, were productive of no decision. On the contrary, memorials were heaped on memorials, till they amounted to immense volumes, and rendered the subject of altercation more doubtful and perplexed than ever. The following is the account which a celebrated modern historian gives of this transaction: "The object that now employed the attention of the British ministry, was the establishment of the precise limits of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, where the new colony had suffered great mischief and interruption from the incursions of the Indians, excited to these outrages by the subjects and emissaries of France. Commissaries were appointed by both crowns to meet at Paris, and compromise these disputes; but the conferences were rendered abortive by every art of cavilling, chicanery, and procrastination, which the French commissioners opposed to the justice and perspicuity of the English claims. They  
not



not only misinterpreted treaties, though expressed with the utmost precision, and perplexed the whole with difficulties and matter foreign to the subject, but they carried the finesse of perfidy so far, as to produce false charts and maps of the country, in which the rivers and boundaries were misplaced and misrepresented \*.” Every reader of candor and reflection cannot but suspect this view of the matter of prejudice and partiality. Had a French author given the same account of the behaviour of the English commissioners, it is not improbable, that after a most careful perusal of all the proofs and memorials on both sides, he should be doubtful on which side justice lay. And indeed this seems unavoidable from the nature of the thing in dispute, which was a vast extent of country claimed by each nation, founded on grants and charters of their respective sovereigns, who at the very time they expedited those charters, were totally ignorant of the extent and boundaries of that very country they were thus granting away. Hence it was impossible that those charters, and surely both sovereigns had equal right to grant them, should not frequently clash and interfere, and be inconsistent with one another. And while both parties referred to them, reasoned from them, and reckoned them of equal force and validity, an amicable decision was impracticable.

But in all probability, neither this, nor the disputes about the neutral islands, would have been

\* Smollett's Continuation, vol. I. p. 84, 85.

productive of national hostilities, had not differences, proceeding from similar causes, arisen about matters deemed of infinitely greater importance. As we observed before, the English were possessed of the sea coasts, and the French had settled along the banks of the two rivers St. Laurence and Mississippi. The English territory being divided into several distinct and independant provinces, many disputes had arisen between the contiguous ones about their respective boundaries, owing to the vagueness and want of precision in their charters. When such things happened between subjects of the same parent state, it is no wonder that the like causes co-operating, they should spring up, and end at last in violence between two nations naturally hostile, and enemies to one another. We cannot but be very much in the dark with respect to the circumstances and extent of the grants of territory made by the French king to his subjects; but in all probability, some of them were as inconsistent and extravagant, as truth and candor oblige us to confess those of our own sovereign were, respecting at least Virginia and the two Carolinas. The charters by which those countries were granted to the original proprietors, besides great part of Florida, and St. Augustine, long possessed and garrisoned by the Spaniards, comprehended all the country of America lying between certain latitudes, and extending in longitude from the Atlantic-ocean to the great South-sea; in which tract must of necessity be included,



cluded, not only all the French settlements on the Mississippi, but the greatest part of New Mexico, possessed by the Spaniards long before these charters were heard. Hence it is obvious, we are neither to seek for the causes of the quarrel, nor to form our notions of the justice, or injustice of either side, from any claims founded on these grants, or inferences drawn from them; but all this must depend on other and more established principles. And considering the matter in the real and only point of view it ought to be viewed in, we hesitate not, without departing from our avowed impartiality, to maintain that the French had long been inspired with intentions of making hostile encroachments upon the English colonists, and that they were in the last war particularly the original aggressors.

When any members of a civilized people leave their native land to settle in a waste uncultivated country, the natural employment of these emigrants must be agriculture, and a confined sort of a commerce. To do justice to the English colonists, it must be confessed, they have never, but when driven by force, varied from that line of action. It has been quite otherwise with the French: almost entirely neglecting commerce, looking upon agriculture as only a secondary consideration, their main politics have been rather to conquer and subdue, than to plant and settle; and, instead of mercantile factories, they have erected military forts. It is from this different genius and bent of the two nations, manifested by the uniform series of their  
conduct

conduct pursued for ages, and not from a few particular accidents, nor from flimsy reasoning on the meaning of terms and the extent of boundaries, and the running of imaginary lines in vague and indefinite charters, which undoubtedly would never furnish an object of dispute, unless people were predisposed to quarrel, and only wanted a pretence for proceeding to hostilities, that we are to form our judgments of the justice or injustice of either side, in the commencement of the last war. This is a new point of view in which we have set this important object ; and we are persuaded it will be found consonant to truth and reason, and that it does ample justice to the moderation and pacific dispositions of our countrymen. It is certain, that the main object of the English was planting and agriculture ; and that they never removed from the sea-coasts, and settled up the country, but when they were straitened for room in the places which they originally occupied. They made no settlements, and built no forts, at a distance from the capitals of their respective colonies ; and which, consequently, could not be maintained and supported, by the natural intercourse of human affairs, in such remote establishments. When such was their invariable practice, it was impossible that they could ever be justly charged with making hostile invasions and encroachments on their neighbours the French ; and had the conduct of the latter been directed by the same motives, many centuries must have elapsed before the two nations could have  
been,



been, properly speaking, neighbours to one another, in those almost unbounded territories. But their principles and conduct were quite the reverse : actuated by the same principles in the new world which had so long, and so fatally, distinguished that people in Europe, they have made military establishments, and erected fortifications, at an immense distance from one another, and from their two capitals, and in situations where they cannot be even kept up but by unnatural exertions, both of power and politics, and where they could never serve any good purpose of commerce, far less of cultivation and agriculture. Beholding, with the jealous and envious eyes of a rival, the slow, but sure, advance and progress of the British colonies in population, commerce, and cultivation ; mortally dreading the increase of a power, which must be the more confirmed and stable, because it employed no unnatural or iniquitous means for that purpose, they have long determined on measures to stop the further growth of the British settlements, unavoidable because natural, if left to themselves, and to confine them within narrow limits, within a few leagues of the sea-coast. With this ambitious view, they had connected their two colonies of Canada and Louisiana, by a chain of forts from Quebec to New-Orleans. This, though it could have served no purpose of colonization, might have been defensible had they restricted themselves, in these military establishments, to the banks of the two great rivers, or their neighbourhood : but not contented with  
this,

this, they made military settlements so very near the English frontier, which had been planted by a natural and regular progress, and, what is still more convincing, at so great a distance from any of their own colonies, with such vast tracts of land, either desert or inhabited by hostile savages, lying between them, that a bare inspection of the map is sufficient to demonstrate that it could only be done with a hostile intention, and a view of making encroachments. The most palpable instance they gave of such designs was the building of Fort Frederick, called by us Crown Point, upon Lake Champlain, at a great distance from Montreal, the nearest of their own establishments, and within the territories of the Indians called Mohawks, acknowledged, by treaty, to be friends and allies, and under the protection of the English. This they effected in the year 1716, and though complained of at the time, no notice was taken of it by the British court; and amongst many other articles, perhaps of greater importance, it was utterly forgotten, and consequently left undecided at the pacification of Aix-la-Chapelle. In short, from the whole tendency of the French conduct it appears almost indisputable, that they had fixed their hearts on possessing themselves of one of the English harbours on the Atlantic-ocean, envying their rivals, no doubt, the mighty advantages they reaped, in the way of navigation and commerce, from the most extensive sea-coast in their hands, and regretting their own unfortunate situation with respect to  
these



these articles, having no other maritime communication for the immense territories which they claimed as their own, but the mouths of two rivers, the navigation in neither of which was convenient. To conclude, a very superficial reflection on the different foundations of the French and British colonies, and the different temper and character of the inhabitants, will enable any impartial man, without the least hesitation, without having recourse to partial representations of inconsequential, and, at best, doubtful facts, and without lending ear to vulgar prejudices, equally forcible on both sides, to determine the important question, who were the aggressors in the last war. The British colonies were bounded by sober, regular, progressive cultivation; the French by wild, irregular, unconnected enterprize. The British colonists were peaceable farmers and traders; and the French, if they deserve that name, turbulent freebooters and adventurers.

A dispute about settling, or rather trading on the Ohio, one of the finest rivers in America, and watering one of the fruitfulest countries, and one of the most salubrious climates in the world, gave the first occasion to regular and national hostilities; and these, in a due progress of things, brought on a formal war between the two states. To enquire in this place who were the aggressors, or who had justice on their side in this quarrel, attended with such memorable consequences, would be, after what has been above said, superfluous. It is ridiculous

culous to think of deciding it by arguments drawn from grants and charters, for no doubt both parties could produce vouchers of that nature from their respective sovereigns, and perhaps from the Indians themselves, equally pointed and explicit, to appearance of equal validity, and therefore of no validity at all. The only consideration by which we can form any judgment, is the situation and geography of the country in dispute; and from its easy communication with the English provinces of Pensilvania and Virginia, at least infinitely easier than with any of the French settlements which deserved the name, we are well warranted to infer, that the project of the English was the project of sober policy and traffic; and that the French, pretending to interfere and disturb them in it, were influenced by unruly ambition and wild adventure. Besides, this settlement was no new project of the English; so long ago as the year 1716, Mr. Spotswood, governor of Virginia, finding the Outawais, now called the Twightees, extremely well disposed towards the English, formed the scheme of purchasing some of their lands upon this river, and opening a trade with them: but the French being at this time full fraught with their vast and visionary schemes about the Mississippi, and there being, at the same time, an excellent good intelligence between the two courts, this project was discountenanced. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle it was renewed; but the most prudent article in it was neglected, that of conciliating the natives, by  
making



making agreements with them for the purchases of their lands. Some merchants of Maryland and Virginia, foreseeing the great advantages resulting from the cultivation of this fine country, and an exclusive commerce with the natives, on presenting a petition to the government, were indulged not only with a most extensive grant of these lands, but likewise with an exclusive privilege of trade. They forthwith sent a surveyor to take plans of the country, as far as the Falls of the Ohio. The natives, though pacific in their disposition, were alarmed at this step; and this their jealousy was inflamed by the French, who represented the conduct of the English in the most invidious colours. Besides, this great acquisition of territory, and prospect of an exclusive monopoly, failed not to give umbrage to some of their own countrymen, who would find their interests hurt by it. The separate traders of Virginia and Maryland co-operated with the French, in inflaming and keeping up the animosity of the Indians. Not contented with this, the French continued to strengthen themselves, by building fortifications at Niagara and Lake Erie, inhabited by Indians, if not subjects, at least allies to Great-Britain, as also on the Ohio itself. Mr. Hamilton, then governor of Pennsylvania, laid these proceedings before the assembly of that province; and proposed erecting truck-houses, in the nature of small fortresses, on the Ohio, for the protection of the British traders there. This proposal was approved of, in general, by the assembly; but diversity of interests,

and other difficulties which were started, prevented the execution of it; while the French were proceeding in such a manner as to become every day more and more powerful and formidable. Mr. Dinwiddie also, governor of Virginia, was extremely attentive to these operations, and transmitted home such spirited representations upon them, as failed not to give the alarm to the British government. Resolved to omit nothing within the sphere of his power, he sent major Washington, with a letter, to the French commandant of a fort on the river au Beuf, which falls into the Ohio, complaining of the encroachment, and requiring him to evacuate that place, as it was within the British territory. The French officer returned for answer, it must be confessed, with great propriety, that as it was not his business to examine into the property of the lands in dispute, it could not be expected he should quit his post, but that he would transmit the governor of Virginia's letter to the governor-general of Canada. Mr. Dinwiddie, seeing nothing was to be expected by the way of amicable negotiation, projected the building a fort near the forks of the river, as a bridle on the French: the colony undertook to defray the expence, and the materials were actually provided, and transported to the spot; but no measures being previously taken to obtain the consent and good-will of the natives, this attempt served further to exasperate them.

While matters in Virginia were thus, by degrees, ripening into an open rupture, hostilities, though

not



not, properly speaking, national ones, were actually commenced in Nova-Scotia. Halifax had been no sooner built, than the French privately stirred up the Indians against the English, whom, agreeable to their barbarous manner of carrying on war, they took every opportunity to waylay and surprize. Many they scalped and murdered, and those whom they took prisoners they sold, for arms and ammunition, to the French; who, on being questioned for this practice, pretended they entered into it with favourable views to the English captives, who would otherwise be tortured and put to death, after their manner, by the Indians: but the dissingenuity of this excuse was manifest, from more considerations than one. In the first place, they exacted exorbitant ransoms for the liberty of those whom they had thus pretended to have saved from a worse fate than slavery: in the next place, it was certain, that the scalping parties of the Indians who made these prisoners were headed by Frenchmen, and under their guidance; and, when repeated complaints, on this account, were made to the governor of Louisbourg, his constant reply was, that his jurisdiction did not extend over the Indians, and indeed as little over those Frenchmen who were their conductors, who being inhabitants of the district of Annapolis, and having thought proper to remain there after that country had been ceded to the English, were, in reality, to be deemed subjects of Great-Britain. The futility and evasive intent of this answer were very soon made evident in the sequel.

In the spring of the year 1750, general Cornwallis, governor of Halifax, sent major Lawrence, at the head of a small party, to reduce those French inhabitants of Annapolis, whose practices, and even whose subjection to France, had been thus disclaimed by the governor of Louisbourg, to good order and obedience. At the major's approach, they reduced their houses to ashes, forsook their possessions, and threw themselves under the protection of M. la Corne, whom, even while the conferences for ascertaining the limits of Nova-Scotia were carrying on at Paris, the governor of Canada had detached with a party of regular troops, and a body of militia, to fortify a post on the bay of Chiconecto, the possession of which not only secured to the Indians of the continent a free passage into the peninsula on which Halifax stands, and a safe retreat in case of being pursued, but also encouraged the French inhabitants of Annapolis to break out into open rebellion against the English government. In fact, these fugitives were received by La Corne with all cordiality, who, by means of this reinforcement, saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, well appointed, with arms and ammunition. Major Lawrence, finding himself unable to face a body so greatly superior to his small detachment, and, at the same time, having no orders to use forcible measures against any but the Indians, and their open abettors, thought proper to demand a conference with the French commander. This being granted, he desired to know for what reason



reason the French inhabitants of Nova-Scotia had thrown off their allegiance to Great-Britain, and broken that neutrality which they had sworn to, and hitherto affected to profess? La Corne took no notice of this requisition; but contented himself with informing the major, in general terms, that he had orders to defend his present post, and these orders he was resolved to obey. Mr. Lawrence, it may be presumed, not extremely well satisfied with the contemptuous silence observed with respect to his principal demand, returned to Halifax, without being able to accomplish the main end of his expedition. No sooner was his retreat known, than the French neutrals (so they were still called) returned to their habitations, which they had deserted; and, together with the Indians, renewed their incursions upon the English territories, and made depredations on the inhabitants of Halifax, and their neighbouring settlements. Justly incensed at these outrageous hostilities, and convinced, from repeated experience, that the French inhabitants were irreconcilable enemies to the English name and government, that they would neither submit quietly to it themselves, nor suffer others to enjoy it with tranquillity, the English governor of Nova-Scotia now took a final resolution of extirpating them from a country which, on account of their turbulence and treachery, they deserved not to possess. Major Lawrence, with a thousand men, was transported by sea to Chiconecto, where he found the French and Indians intrenched, and resolved to oppose his landing. This, however, he effected with a few companies;

and, after receiving and returning a smart fire, rushed into their intrenchments, from which he drove them in the utmost confusion, having killed and wounded a considerable number of their men. They fled across a river, by which means they saved themselves from further pursuit ; for, on the opposite banks stood La Corne, at the head of a body of regular troops, who were drawn up in order of battle, and received the fugitives as friends and dependants. Before this time, he had erected a fort, called Beau Sejour ; and now the English built one likewise, on the other side of the river, named, from its founder, St. Lawrence. This, though intended to repress the incursions of the French, and their barbarous allies the Indians, was far from effectually answering the purpose. The latter, being always supplied with canoes, arms, and ammunition, from the French, found means, in spite of the check of this fort, in which a pretty numerous garrison was left, to make several incursions into the interior parts of the peninsula ; in one of which, they surprized the little town of Dartmouth, opposite to Halifax, and murdered, scalped, and carried off prisoners, the greatest part of the inhabitants. The French, under La Corne, continued to strengthen themselves on the neck of the peninsula, by fortifying two additional posts ; one distinguished by the name of Baye Verte, and another at the entrance of St. John's river, on the north side of Fundy Bay.

Representations of these outrages and encroachments being transmitted home to England, the earl

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of Albemarle, the British ambassador, presented a memorial to the French court, complaining of them, and demanding satisfaction for them; and, particularly, that the subjects of Great-Britain who had been made prisoners should be set at liberty, and the losses they had sustained made up to them; that exemplary punishment should be inflicted on the persons who had committed these outrages on them; that the fort of Niagara should be immediately razed; and, lastly, that positive orders should be sent to De la Jonquiere, the French commander in America, to desist from violence against the British subjects in that country. The French court, not being yet sufficiently prepared for an open rupture, thought proper to return an answer, which might, at least, serve to amuse for a while. They set at liberty six Englishmen, who had been sent prisoners from America to France: this they did immediately, and also promised to send their governor-general of Canada the most express orders to prevent all causes of complaint for the future. But if any such orders were publickly sent, it is most probable they were contradicted by private instructions: for De la Jonquiere paid no regard to them, but continued to encourage the Indians, and permit the French to harass the English, both on the Ohio and in Nova-Scotia; as also to compleat their chain of forts to the southward, in order to effectuate their wild ambitious scheme of uniting their two colonies, and confining the English within narrow limits, the sea on one side, and their encroachments on the other.

The English suffered the most alarming and important violences on the Ohio, and there the first regular hostilities, having the sanction of legal authority on both sides, were committed: for the British government, justly irritated at these manifest evasions of the most solemn promises, and at proceedings as hostile as they were treacherous, at length dispatched orders to all the governors of the colonies not only to stand on their defence, but forcibly to drive the French from their settlements on the Ohio. Much about the same time, a political confederacy, for their mutual defence, was strongly recommended to them all; and the governor of New-York was directed to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations, called by the French the Iroquoise, and to endeavour, by means of valuable presents, and promises of more, to wean them from the French interest, into which they had been artfully allured by that intriguing people, and attach them to their former friends and allies, the English. But neither of these schemes was attended with the wished for success, at least for the present: the different views and interests of the colonies, both religious and political, prevented the one; and tho' the Indians, indeed, came to the conference at Albany, and received the presents, as usual, yet they, backward and indifferent, promised but little, and did still less.

While the English were only deliberating, and that perhaps with no great unanimity, about executing the orders they had received, the French

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executed theirs, and proceeded to action, with great vigour and alacrity. They surprized Logstown, a fort built by the Virginians on the Ohio: they made themselves masters of the block-house and truck-house adjacent to it, where they found skins and other commodities, to the value of twenty thousand pounds, which they were not contented with plundering, but also murdered all the British traders, except two, who found means to escape: at the same time, M. de Contre-cœur proceeded, in three hundred canoes, from a fort called Venungo, which they had built on the banks of the Ohio, with a thousand men, and eighteen pieces of cannon, and, arriving at the confluence of the Monangahela with that river, reduced, by surprize, a considerable fort, which the province of Virginia had there erected. These hostilities were followed by several other skirmishes between the people of the two nations, which were fought with various success.

At last, a most important expedition was undertaken by the government of Virginia. Major Washington, of whom mention has been made before, was dispatched from thence, at the head of a body of four hundred men, to check the hostile operations of the French. He took possession of a post on the banks of the Ohio, at a place called the Great Meadows, where he erected a fort of temporary fort, hoping to be able to defend it till the reinforcements, which were expected from New-York, should arrive; in which expectation he was,  
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however, disappointed. De Villier, a French officer, who had under his command no less than nine hundred men, at the fort of Monongahela, lately taken from the English, being informed of Washington's situation and strength, sent him a formal requisition to relinquish his post, which he called an encroachment on the French territory, by the hands of one of his subalterns, called Jamonville, attended by a small party. According to the French accounts, Jamonville and his company were either killed or taken prisoners by Washington, in a manner contrary to all the rules of war established among civilized nations. To avenge this injury and affront, De Villier marched, with the remainder of his troops, to attack Washington; who, not discouraged by the inferiority of numbers, defended himself for a time with such intrepidity, that the French commandant found it expedient to offer him a very honourable capitulation, which was, that both parties should retire; the English to Will's Creek, within the acknowledged confines of Virginia, and the French to their former situation at Monongahela. Washington embraced the proposal, and delivered two officers as hostages for the restitution of the surviving prisoners of Jamonville's detachment. These terms were no sooner agreed on, than a body of French Indians appeared, and, though they were prevented from breaking the capitulation, which they were very earnest to do, yet the French commander suffered them to harass the English in their retreat, and plunder their baggage.

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Loud complaints of these flagrant and unwarrantable hostilities were preferred to the court of Versailles, by the earl of Albemarle, the English ambassador. But the French ministry having now conceived a fond, though, as it afterwards appeared, a fallacious notion, that they had transmitted reinforcements and supplies to Quebec sufficient to withstand all the force which the English colonies, with what assistance the mother-country would chuse to afford, could muster against them; so far from offering any adequate satisfaction, took not their usual pains to apologize for them; and thus an open rupture between the two nations became inevitable.

At first, indeed, the French had greatly the superiority over their enemies, owing to the different constitutions of the two governments in that country. That of Canada, or New-France, moved by one direction, and inspired by one head, faction was unknown in it; all its force was united in one point, and acted with a view to one common end. The English were divided into separate governments, actuated by distinct, and sometimes contradictory interests: they not only had complaints against each other, the Virginians imputing Washington's misfortune to the people of New-York, who had not fulfilled their engagements, but were also discontented among themselves. Some very immaterial points in dispute raised a quarrel between the assembly and governor of Virginia, which put a stop to all business; an extremity which both parties ought carefully to have avoided, when

the danger from the common enemy was so great. The governor and assembly of Pennsylvania were, from the like causes, in the same situation; and the inhabitants of New-York were inflamed to the highest pitch of discontent, by a discovery they had made of some instructions which Sir Danvers Osborne, their late governor, who died immediately upon his arrival, had brought over with him. The rest of the colonies were in a very little better situation, and had agreed on no one plan of action: if they concurred in any thing, it was in alternately blaming the backwardness, and imploring the assistance, of their mother-country. That assistance was, at last, effectually lent them; otherwise, the dispute would have been soon decided, in a different manner than it afterwards was.

The first step taken was the appointing the officers of two regiments, consisting of double battalions, to be raised in America, and commanded by Sir William Pepperel, and general Shirley, who had enjoyed the same command in the last war. A body of British regulars was likewise destined for the same service, and orders given for their embarkation at Corke, in Ireland: and, as it was foreseen that the national and provincial troops must frequently act in conjunction, in order to render the service more uniform, a clause was added to the annual mutiny-bill, enacting, that all officers and foldiers being enlisted, and in pay, which are or shall be raised in any of the British provinces in America,  
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by authority of the respective governors or governments thereof, shall, at all times and in all places, when they happen to join or act in conjunction with his majesty's British forces, be liable to martial law and discipline, in like manner, to all intents and purposes, as the British forces are; and shall be subject to the same trial, penalties, and punishments. At the same time, a powerful fleet was equipped, which afterwards sailed in two separate divisions, under admirals Boscawen and Holborn, to North-America; a measure which was then severely taxed by a certain anti-ministerial writer. Nor were the French less alert in their naval preparations. Besides the different parties of land-forces which they had at various times transported to Canada, sometimes in single ships, Mr. Macnamara, an officer of Irish extraction, sailed from Brest, and directed his course towards North-America, having under his command a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, which latter had on board a great quantity of ammunition and warlike stores, and a body of four thousand regular troops, commanded in chief by the baron Dieskau; but before he had proceeded many leagues beyond the chops of the English Channel, he returned to Brest with nine of the capital ships, and M. Bois de la Mothe continued his course to the original place of destination, with the remainder of the armament.

In fact, the English ministry do not seem to have possessed the best intelligence; nor, at any rate, to have

have acted with the prudence requisite in the conducting such an arduous business. They must not have known the original strength of the French fleet ; otherwise, they never would have dispatched admiral Boscawen with so small a number as eleven ships, especially as that officer, as it afterwards appeared, had orders to act in an hostile manner. Even when that strength came to be known, the reinforcement they sent after him, under admiral Holborne, was by no means equal to the purpose ; for when they effected a junction, against which, however, there were many chances, they would still have been so far inferior to the French, that the superior skill and alertness in naval operations, which the English boast, and really seem to possess, over the French, could not be expected to compensate for it ; whereas, had the French met with them separately, which was by no means impossible, their destruction, in that case, must have been unavoidable : even after the return of Macnamara with nine ships of the line, which our ministry could neither know nor suspect, they enjoyed a very bare superiority over them when joined, and when separated were far out-numbered : so that, in this whole transaction, the English administration were certainly more fortunate than provident.

The earl of Albemarle, the English ambassador in France, had been for some time taken off by a sudden death, and no other minister had been appointed in his room. The duke de Mirepoix, a nobleman endued with an honour and integrity seldom



feldom found in a statesman, particularly a French one, was then ambassador at the court of London. Seeing the vigorous preparations for war carrying on by the English, and himself being deceived, or kept in the dark, with respect to the real designs of his own court, he continued to negotiate with the English ministry, made very earnest protestations to them of the good faith of France, and even scrupled not to say, he would be answerable for it with his own private honour. But the ministers, being better informed than he imagined, shewed him copies of the orders sent to the governor-general, and other French officers of Canada, which flatly gave the lie to all he had so solemnly asserted. Confounded at this, unable to deny the flagrant proofs that were laid before him, and not a little disgusted at the insincere part, so derogatory to his honour, which he had been induced to act, he returned to Paris, and warmly upbraided the French ministry not only for their fallacy, but also for the deception they had imposed upon himself. Unable to give a satisfactory answer to his just reproaches, they referred him to the king ; who immediately sent him back to London with orders to assure the court of England, from himself, of his pacific intentions. But such assurances were now of no avail, nor in the least attended to : both the French and English fleets being by this time arrived at North-America, the British ministry made no scruple of declaring to the duke de Mirepoix, that admiral Boscawen had orders to attack the French ships,

ships, wherever he should meet them. To which the duke replied, that his master would consider the first gun that should be fired in an hostile manner as an actual declaration of war. Far from being intimidated by this menace, the preparations for war were continued with redoubled ardour, powerful fleets were equipped, new ships were put on the stocks, an hot press for seamen set on foot, and the land-forces augmented.

In the mean time, news were impatiently expected from America, where it was known the first war-like operations would commence. At last, accounts arrived that admiral Boscawen had taken two French ships of the line. It seems this officer had reached the American coast a few days before M. Bois de la Mothe, the greatest part of whose ships, being favoured by the impenetrable fogs so familiar to that part of the world, effectuated, unnoticed by their enemies, their passage to Canada; some by the usual way, between Cape-Breton and Newfoundland; and the others by the straits of Belleisle, on the north of the latter island, a navigation hitherto unattempted by large ships of war: two of them only, being separated from their comforts in the fog, the Alcide and the Lys, both pierced for sixty-four guns, but the latter actually mounting no more than twenty-two, were intercepted by the English fleet. Two English ships of the same strength, the Dunkirk and Defiance, commanded by the captains Howe and Andrews, bore down upon, engaged, and took them, after a short,



short, but vigorous resistance. As soon as the French king received authentic accounts of this hostility, which were first published in the London Gazette, on July 15, 1755, he recalled his two ambassadors, the duke de Mirepoix, from the court of London, and M. Buffy, from Hanover; being now sensible, for the first time, that a war with Great-Britain was unavoidable. This event occasioned not greater consternation to the French ministry, who had hitherto, perhaps on grounds not altogether improbable, flattered themselves, that the administration in England would continue to be amused with fruitless unmeaning negotiations about the limits of Nova-Scotia, and suffer them, without material interruption, to proceed in their encroachments, and in completing their great plan, of establishing a regular chain of fortifications upon the back of the English American settlements; than it raised joy and exultation among the people of England, ever fond of war, especially with France: not so much on account of the splendor and importance of the action, but because it convinced them, which many still affected to doubt of, that the government were now thoroughly in earnest.

We shall now, agreeable to our plan, confine ourselves to the civil transactions and warlike operations of North America, taking no notice of what happened in Europe, but only so far as it has a reference to our main subject.

## The CAMPAIGN of 1755.

**I**N the beginning of this year, the assembly of the province of Massachusetts Bay had prohibited all commerce, or intercourse of any sort, with the French at Louisbourg: they had likewise raised, early in the spring, a body of provincial troops, which they sent to Nova-Scotia, to assist major-general Lawrence, now governor of that province, in his enterprizes against the French. We have already given an account of the attempts made last year to subdue the French neutrals, which were far from being so successful as was expected, owing to the assistance they received from the French regular troops from Canada. This project was resumed with great vigour this year, and the execution of it entrusted to lieutenant-colonel Monckton. Accordingly, in the beginning of May, this officer, at the head of a large detachment, set out on his march by land, while captain Rous, with three frigates, and a sloop of war, sailed up the bay of Fundy, to assist his operations, by water. Colonel Monckton met with no resistance till he arrived, with his little army, on the banks of the river, on which he found a large body of regular troops, neutral French or Acadians, and Indians, drawn up to great advantage, and ready to oppose his farther progress. Four hundred and fifty of them were posted in a block-house



house mounted with cannon, and situated on the opposite side of the river; the rest were intrenched behind a strong breast-work of timber, raised, by way of an outwork, on this side the river, to defend the block-house. The English provincials attacked the breast-work with great vivacity, and carried it, after an obstinate dispute, which lasted about an hour, sword in hand. The garrison in the block-house, beholding the fate of their companions, deserted it, and betook themselves to flight, leaving the passage of the river free to the English.

Colonel Monckton proceeded directly against the French fort of Beau Sejour, which he invested as well as the small number of his troops would permit him: for the space of four days he continued to bombard it; and, just as he had mounted his cannon, and was ready to begin battering the body of the place, the French demanded a capitulation; which was granted them, on condition that the garrison should be sent to Louisbourg, and not serve in America for six months. The garrison accordingly was transported thither, to the number of one hundred and fifty; and the Acadians, who, to the number of three hundred, were found in the place, received a pardon, having, as they asserted, been forced into the French service.

The next day, after leaving a garrison in Beau Sejour, and changing its name to that of Fort Cumberland, colonel Monckton attacked the other French fort upon the river Gasperau, which runs into Bay Verte: it immediately fell into his hands;

and here he found a large quantity of provisions, and all manner of warlike stores, this being their chief magazine for supplying the neighbouring Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other requisites. In the mean time, captain Rous, with the frigates under his command, failed to attack a fort which the French had built at the mouth of the river St. John : but the enemy abandoned it at his first appearance, after having bursted their cannon, blown up their magazine, and demolished all the works they had raised, as much as time would allow them to do. The French now possessed no place of strength in Nova-Scotia. The reduction of this country was thus effected, with the loss only of twenty men killed, and about the same number wounded ; and fifteen hundred Acadians were disarmed, who some time afterwards, to the irreparable loss of this province, were, with their wives and children, ravished from their habitations, and dispersed, in small bodies, over different parts of English America, (a step which nothing but the most absolute necessity could justify) where they settled, during the continuance of the war ; and, still retaining their former habit of sobriety and industry, applied themselves, the women to household employment, and the men to fishing : and being extremely frugal, soon became more affluent than the English inhabitants of the same rank in life. At the conclusion of the peace, having then liberty to retire to any part of the French dominions, tho' every indulgence was offered them, they all deserted to a man, and were transported to Cape Francois,



cois, in the island of Hispaniola. From thence they were some time afterwards removed to Tiberon Bay, near Cape Nicholas in the same island, where Count d'Estaing, the governor, was then projecting a new settlement : here the greatest part of them miserably perished of diseases, contracted from the unwholesomeness of the climate, and a vertical sun, which they were unused to. Such was the deplorable end of these poor people, who, besides their remarkable sobriety, industry, and orderly behaviour, were in their persons extremely vigorous and robust, and the women fair and elegant, to a degree seldom seen among their European country-women. Could they have been prevailed on to become English subjects, and to continue quiet and peaceable, the most fruitful part of Nova-Scotia, which they inhabited, instead of being, as it is at present, a depopulated desert, would have had its vallies cropped with corn, and its hills covered with herds and flocks.

While the New England people were thus employed in reducing the French in Nova-Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them on the Ohio. A camp was formed at Will's Creek, and a fort built, called Fort Cumberland. Major-general Braddock, having been constituted by his majesty generalissimo of all the troops which were in, or should be sent to America, arrived in Virginia before the end of February, and, as soon as he possibly could, summoned the several governors to meet him, in order to consult on the business of the ensuing campaign. The meeting was

held at Alexandria, in Virginia. After much debate, it was agreed, that for the preservation of Oswego and reduction of Niagara, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments should be sent to Lake Ontario, on which lake an armed vessel or two should be built, of about sixty ton each, to command it; the execution of which was entrusted to Mr. Shirley, while general Braddock attacked Fort du Quesne, a post lately built on the river, near the conflux of the Monangahela, and general Johnson, with the provincial troops, was directed to invest Crown-Point, on the frontiers of New-York.

In consequence of these resolutions, general Braddock, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, began his march against Fort du Quesne, though, being disappointed by the Virginia contractors, he had neither provisions nor a sufficient number of carriages for so long a march, and arrived at Fort Cumberland, in his way thither, the 10th of May. From thence to Fort du Quesne the distance is at least an hundred and forty miles: the general should, therefore, have certainly landed in Pennsylvania, and the contract for supplying his troops should have been made with some of the principal people there, who could easily have performed their contracts; and had he encamped at Franks-Town, or some where on the south-west borders of that province, his road to Fort du Quesne would have been more practicable, and fifty miles nearer than from Will's Creek.

Innumerable were the difficulties he had to surmount, in a country rugged, pathless, and unknown,



known, across the Alleghanny mountains, through unfrequented woods and dangerous defiles; and these dangers were doubled by the disappointments which he met with in almost every thing which he had to do with the provinces: out of two thousand five hundred horses, and two hundred waggons, on which he was assured he might depend, he only received twenty waggons, and two hundred horses. In like manner, his other expectations came to nothing, through the negligence of all the persons with whom he had any dealings. We may conceive the difficulties which general Braddock met with in this terrible march, when we consider that he was obliged (to make use of his own expressions) to be continually employed in making a road as he proceeded, with infinite labour, across mountains and rocks of an excessive height, vastly steep, and divided by torrents and rivers.

Notwithstanding these discouragements and hardships, the general, being informed that the French were expecting a reinforcement of five hundred regular troops, to prevent such an increase of strength in the enemy, determined to push forward by forced marches. But the impetuosity of his temper, and the too contemptible opinion that he entertained of the enemy, prevented his paying a proper regard to the representations of his officers, and the hazard of entering woods without reconnoitring the enemy, which proved his ruin; he therefore, without farther loss of time, marched from Fort Cumberland, on the 10th of June, (leaving a garrison

there under the command of captain Innes) against Fort du Quesne, with his little army in two divisions: at the head of the first, consisting of fourteen hundred men, was the general himself, with the greatest part of the ammunition and artillery; the second, with the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, was led by colonel Dunbar, with about eight hundred men, with orders to follow as fast as the service would admit. Having, by this means, lessened his line of march, he carelessly proceeded with great expedition, insomuch that his rear was left near forty miles behind; and being so incautious as seldom to bestow time to reconnoitre the woods he was to pass through, though earnestly intreated by Sir Peter Halket to proceed with caution, and to employ the Indians that were with him in scouting the woods, suffered himself, when he had advanced within ten miles of the fort, to be surprized by an ambuscade of French and Indians. The attack was begun with hideous howlings, and a quick and heavy fire upon the vanguard, under colonel Gage, and all along his left flank, from the Indians, so artfully concealed under the trees and bushes that not a single man of them could be perceived. Immediately the main body, in good order, advanced to sustain them. Orders were then given to halt, and form. At this juncture, the van falling back upon them in great confusion, in an instant the panic became general; but, being rallied by their officers with much difficulty, they were brought to give one fire: after which, they again fell back; but  
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were once more, with inconceivable difficulty, rallied by their officers, and stood one fire from the enemy; but then, without returning it, they fled, particularly the regular troops, with the utmost terror and precipitation, in spite of their officers, most of whom behaved very gallantly: but they were equally deaf to commands and intreaties. Braddock himself discovered at once the greatest intrepidity, and the highest imprudence; for instead of ordering a retreat till he could scour the avenues, lined with the enemy, with grape-shot from the ten pieces of cannon, which he had with him; or ordering his Indians to advance in flanking parties against the invisible enemy, he obstinately continued on the spot where he was, and gave orders to the few brave officers and men who remained with him, to form and advance. In the mean while the French Indians, who always take aim when they fire, singled out the officers by their dress, and killed or wounded most of them. At last, having had five horses shot under him, he received a wound in his lungs through his right arm, of which he died in four days, having been carried off the field by the bravery of lieutenant-colonel Gage and another officer. His secretary, eldest son of general Shirley, Sir Peter Halket, colonel of the forty-fourth regiment, with several other officers of distinction, were killed, and above seven hundred private men; all the ammunition, artillery, baggage of the army,  
and

and the general's cabinet, containing his instructions, and other papers of consequence, fell into the hands of the enemy : and had not the provincial militia, which the general had always despised, bravely formed, and advanced against the Indians in the woods, though equally exposed to the fire of the enemy, the whole army had certainly been cut off. The panic among the troops continued till they met the rear division ; when the army retreated, without stopping, till they arrived at Fort Cumberland, though the enemy never attempted to pursue, or even appeared in sight, either during the battle, or after the defeat.

The real strength of the enemy is uncertain ; but it is supposed that they had upwards of two thousand regular troops, including the Canadian militia, which in this country is equal in usefulness to the regular troops from Old France, besides great numbers of Indians, who were planted in ambuscade, and from whom our soldiers suffered far the most. The loss of the enemy was very inconsiderable by their own account, which in all probability was the case, as they were concealed behind trees and bushes in such a manner, that our men knew not whither to point their muskets.

Thus ended this unhappy expedition, whose bad consequences to the British interest were rendered worse by its increasing the spirit and activity of the French, and riveting the Indians more firmly in the interest of their new allies. On the contrary,  
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the Indians in the English interest despised us, for not being able to protect ourselves; and such an universal panic seized all the colonies, that they seemed for some time to give up all for lost.

Nothing could now prevent the outrages and encroachments of the Indians and French on the back of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, except a strong garrison at Fort Cumberland; where, if the remains of Braddock's army had fortified themselves during the rest of the summer, they would have been a sufficient check upon the French and their scalping parties of Indians: but instead of pursuing so prudent a measure, colonel Dunbar, on whom the command devolved, left only the sick and wounded under the care of two companies of provincial militia at Fort Cumberland, and with sixteen hundred men marched, on the second of August, for Philadelphia, where their presence could be of no immediate service; from whence they were ordered by general Shirley, now commander in chief in America, to Albany, in the province of New-York.

Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, were, by these means, left entirely defenceless and destitute of protection from their cruel enemies; and the usual disputes between their governors, assemblies, &c. ran so high, that every salutary proposal, for the public safety, was rejected. Pennsylvania, the most powerful of the three, was at last induced to vote fifty thousand pounds for the defence

fence of the frontier ; but even this sum, ridiculously small as it was, compared with the flourishing state of the province, could not be procured, the governor refusing to give his assent to the act of the assembly for raising that sum, because they had taxed the proprietors estate in proportion to those of the inhabitants.

Our colonies to the northward were more active and successful in their preparations for war. The assembly of New-York prohibited the sending provisions to any port, settlement, or island, belonging to the French on the continent of America, or any of the adjacent islands ; and voted forty-five thousand pounds for the defence of their province, which lay most exposed to an invasion of the French from Crown Point. With this small supply, and the assistance of the eastern colonies, together with the few regular troops ordered thither by general Shirley, from Pennsylvania, the province of New-York planned two expeditions, one against the French fort of Crown-Point, and the other against Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie. General Johnson, by birth an Irishman, who had long resided on the Mohock river, in the western parts of New-York, where he had gained the universal love of both the inhabitants, and the neighbouring Indians, whose language he had learned, whose manners he was perfectly acquainted with, and whose affections he had gained by his justice, generosity, and humane behaviour towards them, was



was appointed commander of the first, and general Shirley himself undertook the latter expedition\*.

Albany was appointed for the rendezvous of the troops for both expeditions, where most of them arrived before the end of June. This army consisted of near six thousand men, exclusive of Indians, raised by the governments of Boston, Connecticut, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, and New-York, and soon marched forwards, about sixty miles from Albany, under the command of major general Lyman; and as soon as the artillery, battoes, provisions, and other necessaries were ready, on the eighth

\* It may be necessary here to remind the reader of the situation and uses of the three great French forts in North-America: Niagara, Du Quesne, and Crown-Point, were three forts built by the French in consequence of their scheme to possess all the passes of the back countries, and secure them by strong garrisons, to restrain us from penetrating farther into the continent than the part which we possessed, and to exclude us from all commerce with the Indians, and engross the fur trade to themselves. Crown-Point was built about the year 1730, by the Canadians, in the territories of New-York, little more than one hundred miles from Albany. From this advanced garrison they could easily annoy all the upper parts of New-York and New England, and prevent the settlement of any lands north of Hudson and Connecticut rivers. Fort du Quesne was built in 1752, on the forks of the river Monongahela, on the territories of Pennsylvania, and enabled the French to harass that as well as the neighbouring provinces of Maryland and Virginia. Niagara was situated between the lakes Erie and Ontario, and secured the communication between Canada and Louisiana. It lay in the country of the Senegas, the most powerful of the Five Nations, and was built since the year 1721.

of

of August general Johnson set out with them for the Carrying-Place, where he joined and reviewed his army, that had been employed in building a fort at the landing place, on the east side of Hudson's-River, called Fort Edward. Towards the latter end of the month he advanced about fourteen miles farther north, and encamped in a strong situation, both his flanks being covered by a thick wooded swamp, his rear by Lake George, and his front by a breast-work of trees felled for that purpose, to wait for his battoes; and then intended to proceed to Ticonderoga, at the other end of the lake, about fifteen miles distant from the fort, at the south end of Lake Champlain, called Fort Frederic by the French, and by us Crown-Point. While he continued in this camp, some of his Indian scouts, of whom he took care to send out numbers along both sides, and to the farther end of Lake George, before called Lake Sacrament, brought him intelligence, that a considerable number of the enemy were on their march from Ticonderoga, by the way of the South-Bay, towards the fortified encampment, since called Fort Edward, which general Lyman had built at the Carrying-Place, and where four or five hundred of the New-York and New-Hampshire troops had been left as a garrison. General Johnson gave notice thereof to colonel Blanchard, the commander, with orders to call in all his out-parties, and to keep his whole force within the entrenchments. He was further informed by his scouts, about  
twelve



twelve o'clock at night, that they had seen the enemy within four miles of the camp at the Carrying-Place, which they scarcely doubted their having by that time attacked. Early in the morning general Johnson called a council of war, wherein it was unadvisedly resolved to detach one thousand men, in order either to succour Fort Edward, or intercept the enemy in their return from that post, whether victorious or repulsed, though they had no account of the number or strength of the enemy, nor could obtain any certain information in that respect from the Indians ; because they have no distinct words or signs whereby to express large numbers, otherwise than pointing to the stars in the firmament, or to the hairs of the head, which sometimes may denote a number less than a thousand, as well as at another time ten thousand.

Accordingly this body of men, with about two hundred Indians, marched about nine o'clock in the morning under the command of colonel Williams, an officer much esteemed for his personal bravery and good conduct ; but they had not been gone two hours, when those in the camp began to hear a close firing, as they imagined at about three or four miles distance. As it approached nearer and nearer, they rightly supposed that their detachment was overpowered, and retreating towards the camp ; which was soon confirmed by some fugitives, and presently after by whole companies, who fled back in confusion. The general therefore detached lieutenant - colonel Cole, with  
three

three hundred fresh men, to stop the enemy's pursuit, and to cover the retreat of the English, who might otherwise have been entirely cut off: and this alarm gave him time to strengthen his front with heavy cannon, to take possession of some eminencies on his left flank, and to fix a field piece in a very advantageous situation.

About eleven the enemy appeared in sight, and flushed with this advantage, marched forwards in a very regular order towards the centre of the English camp, till they were within one hundred and fifty yards of the breastwork; when, to the astonishment of the general, baron Dieskau made a halt for some time, which proved his ruin: the English army was in some consternation, and had the breastwork been immediately attacked before the army recovered their spirits, the fortune of the day would, in all probability, have been decided in his favour. However, at length Dieskau began the attack at such a distance, with platoon firing, that it did little execution against troops who were defended by a strong breast-work; and this ineffectual fire so raised the spirits of the English forces, that having prepared their artillery during the time that the French halted, they soon dispersed the Indians and Canadians by a brisk discharge of grape-shot, who fled into the woods on each side of the camp, and there squatted behind bushes, or skulked behind trees, from whence they continued firing with very little execution, most of their shot being intercepted by the brakes and thickets, for they  
never



never had the courage to advance to the verge of the woods.

The French commander, thus deserted by his Canadians and Indians, instead of retreating as prudence directed, fell into another error; finding he could not make a close attack upon the front of the camp, which he found well fortified, and lined with cannon, contrary to his intelligence; with his small number of regulars, moved first to the left, and then to the right, in both which places he in vain attempted to force the breastwork, but was repulsed, being unsupported by his irregulars. These several attempts served only to weaken and dispirit his troops, who suffered greatly by the fire from the camp, and were, about four in the afternoon, thrown into confusion; which was no sooner perceived by general Johnson's men, than they, without waiting for orders, jumped over their breastwork, attacked the enemy on all sides, and after killing a considerable number of them, entirely dispersed the rest.

The French, whose numbers at the beginning of this engagement amounted to about two thousand men, including two hundred grenadiers, eight hundred Canadians, and the rest Indians of different nations, had near eight hundred men killed, and thirty taken prisoners\*: among these last was

\* Amongst whom was Mons. St. Pierre, who commanded their Indians, the most useful officer the French had in all their expeditions in those parts, and in their treaties with the Indians.

general Dieskau himself, who was found at a little distance from the field of battle, dangerously wounded, leaning on the stump of a tree for his support. Our loss did not exceed one hundred and thirty killed, and sixty wounded, and those chiefly of the detachment under colonel Williams; for we had very few either killed or wounded in the attack upon the camp, and none of distinction, except colonel Titcombe killed, and the general himself, and major Nicholls, wounded. Among the slain of the detachment under colonel Williams, which would probably have been almost entirely cut off, had not lieutenant-colonel Cole been sent out from the camp with three hundred men, with whom he stopped the enemy's pursuit, and covered the retreat of his friends, were colonel Williams, major Ashley, captains Ingersal, Puter, Terral, Stoddart, M'Gimes, Stevens, and several subalterns, besides private men, with forty Indians, and old Hendric, the brave Mohawk sachem or chief captain †.

When baron Dieskau set out from Ticonderoga, his design was only to surprize and cut off the intrenched camp, now called Fort Edward, at the Carrying-Place, where there were but four or five

† It is to be remarked, that in this engagement the Indians, some of the Mohawks excepted, retired from the camp, and did not join the army till after the battle; which plainly shews, they were determined to join the conqueror, whether French or English.



hundred men. If he had executed this scheme, our army would have been thrown into great difficulties ; for it could neither have proceeded farther, nor have subsisted where it was, and he might have found an opportunity to attack it with great advantage in its retreat : but when he was within four or five miles of that fort, his people were informed that there were several cannon there, and none at the camp ; upon which they unanimously desired to be led on to this last, which he the more readily consented to, as he himself had been told by an English prisoner, who had left this camp but a few days before, that it was quite defenceless, being without any lines, and destitute of cannon : which, in fact, was true at that time, for the cannon did not arrive, nor was the breastwork erected, till about two days before the engagement. To this misinformation, therefore, must be imputed this step, which would otherwise be inconsistent with the allowed character and abilities of baron Dieskau. A less justifiable error seems to have been committed by general Johnson, in not detaching a party to pursue the enemy when they were routed and fled. Perhaps he was prevented from so doing, by the ill fate of the detachment which he had sent out in the morning under colonel Williams. However that may be, this neglect had like to have proved fatal the next day to a party sent from Fort Edward, consisting of an hundred and twenty men of the New-Hampshire regiment, and ninety of the New-York regiment, under the

command of captain M'Ginnes, as a reinforcement to the army at the camp. The Indians and Canadians, who had escaped from the slaughter of the French army in the morning, having collected themselves into a body of about four hundred, and rendezvoused at the place where Williams was defeated the day before, intercepted this detachment about four in the morning; but M'Ginnes made such a disposition, and behaved with such bravery, that he not only repulsed the assailants, but after a sharp engagement, which lasted two hours, defeated and dispersed them entirely, with the loss only of two men killed, eleven wounded, and five missing. He himself unfortunately died of the wounds which he received in this engagement, a few days after he arrived at the camp with his party.

This victory, though very honourable for Mr. Johnson, and the provincial troops under his command, yet as it was gained late in the season, and as the army was in no very good condition, it had no consequences. The principal intention of this expedition was to reduce Crown-Point; but the year was now too far advanced for an undertaking of that kind, they therefore erected a small stockaded fort at the hither end of Lake George, and then returned to Albany. When the account of this victory reached England, great rejoicings were made in the capital, his majesty created general Johnson a baronet, and the parliament presented him with five thousand pounds.

The



The other expedition, under general Shirley, was attended with very little advantage : he arrived at Oswego on the eighteenth of August, but the rest of the troops, badly provided with provisions, and artillery, did not reach that place till the thirty-first, too late to make an attempt on Niagara, though it was well known, that even the possibility of his success must, in a great measure, depend upon his setting out early in the year, as will appear to any person who considers the situation of our fort at Oswego, this being the only way by which he could proceed to Niagara.

Oswego lies on the south-east side of the Lake Ontario, near three hundred miles almost due west of Albany, in New-York. The way to it from thence, though long and tedious, is the more convenient, as the greatest part of it admits of water carriage, by what the inhabitants call battoes, a kind of light flat bottomed boats, widest in the middle, and pointed at each end, of about fifteen hundred weight burden, managed by two men, called battoe-men, with paddles and setting poles, the river being in many places too narrow to admit of oars. From Albany to the village of Shenectady, which is sixteen miles, is a good waggon road. From thence to the Little-Falls in the Mohawk-river, being sixty-five miles, the passage is by water carriage, up that river, consequently, against the stream, which in many places is rapid, and in others so shallow, that when the river is low, the watermen are obliged to get out and draw their battoes over the rifts. At the Little-Falls is a land-

carriage for about a mile, over ground so marshy, that it will not bear any wheel-carriage; but a colony of Germans, settled there, attend with sledges, on which they draw the loaded battoes to the next place of embarkation on the same river. From thence they proceed by water up that river for fifty miles to the Carrying-Place, near the head of it, where there is another land-carriage, the length of which depends upon the dryness or wetness of the season, but is generally six or eight miles over in the summer months. Here the battoes are again carried upon sledges, till they arrive at a narrow river called Wood's-Creek, down which they are carried by a gentle stream for about forty miles into the Lake Oneyada, which stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and is passed with great ease and safety in calm weather. At the western end of this lake is the river Onondaga, which, after a course of between twenty and thirty miles, unites with the river Cayuga or Seneca; and their united stream runs into the Lake Ontario, at the place where Oswego Fort is situated. But this river is so rapid as to be sometimes dangerous, besides its being full of rifts and rocks; and about twelve miles on this side of Oswego, there is a fall of eleven feet perpendicular, where, of course, there is a postage, which, however, does not exceed fifty yards. From thence the passage is easy, quite to Oswego.

The Lake Ontario, on which this fort stands, is near two hundred and eighty leagues in circumference: its figure is oval, and its depth runs from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. On the north side  
are



are several little gulphs. There is a communication between this lake and that of the Hurons, by the river Tanaswate; from whence it is a land-carriage of six or eight leagues to the river Toranto, which falls into it. The French had two forts of consequence on this lake; Fort Frontignac, which commanded the river St. Laurence, where the lake communicates with it; and Niagara, which commanded the communication between the Lake Ontario and the lake Erie.

Though we had long been possessed of Fort Oswego, and though it lay greatly exposed to the French, upon any rupture between the two nations, no care had ever been taken to put it in a tolerable state of defence, or even to build a single vessel fit for navigating the lake, until the beginning of this year, when, at the meeting which general Braddock had with the governors of the colonies at Alexandria, it was resolved to strengthen both the fort and garrison, and to build some large vessels there. Accordingly, a number of shipwrights and workmen were sent thither in May and June; and, at the same time, captain Bradstreet marched thither with two companies, consisting each of an hundred men, to reinforce the hundred that were there before under captain King. The fort consisted only of a stone wall, mounting but five cannon, three or four pounders, and was otherwise in a very defenceless condition, when general Shirley arrived there. The Indians of the Six Nations, to whom he had sent invitations, and by great num-

bers of whom he had expected to be joined, instead of complying with his desire, absolutely declared against all hostilities on that side of the country, insisting that Oswego, being a place of trade and peace, ought not to be disturbed by either party; so that he was joined by very few Indians. The season was not only now too far advanced, but, tho' the general waited till the 26th of September, when he received a supply of provisions, it was so small, that it was scarcely sufficient to subsist the six hundred men that he intended to carry with him against Niagara, and to support the troops he was to leave at Oswego, for twelve days. But, by this time, the rainy boisterous season had begun; and the few Indians who had joined him declared, that there was no crossing the lake Ontario in battoes at that season of the year, or at any time before the ensuing summer. The expedition was therefore, in a council of war, unanimously agreed to be deferred till the next year; and the forces were employed in erecting barracks, and two new forts, one on the east, and the other on the west side of the river Onondaga. Having settled these matters, he set out on his return to Albany, on the twenty-fourth of October, leaving colonel Mercer, with a garrison of no more than seven hundred men, at Oswego, though he had received repeated advice, that the enemy had then above a thousand men at Fort Frontignac, and the new forts were not yet near completed. Thus ended this unsuccessful expedition, and the campaign, for this year, on the side of the



English ; for the French, and their Indian allies, during the whole winter, committed the most horrid ravages on the western borders of Virginia and Pensylvania : they murdered, scalped §, or carried into captivity, the miserable inhabitants ; and burnt and destroyed all the farms they met with in their incursions.

### The AMERICAN CAMPAIGN of 1756.

**G**eneral Shirley, being dismissed from his military command, was succeeded by general Abercrombie, who assembled, in the month of June, the English forces at Albany, consisting of two regiments which had served under Braddock, two battalions raised in America, two regiments he had just brought with him from England, four independant companies maintained many years in New-York, the New-Jersey regiment, four companies levied in North-Carolina, and a body of provincial forces,

§ The operation of scalping is performed by the Indians in the following manner : the unfortunate victim being disabled, or disarmed, the Indian, with a sharp knife worn for the purpose, makes a circular incision to the bone, round the upper part of the head, and tears off the scalp with his fingers. Previous to this execution, he generally dispatches the prisoner by repeated blows on the head, with the hammer-side of a weapon called a tomahawk : but sometimes they save themselves the trouble, and sometimes the blows prove ineffectual ; so that the miserable wretch is found alive, groaning in the utmost agony of torture. The Indian strings the scalps he has procured, to be produced as testimonies of his prowess ; and receives a premium for each scalp from the nation under whose banners he has enlisted.

raised

raised by the government of New-England. As to the settlements towards the southward, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, they had suffered, and were daily suffering, so much from the incursions of the enemy, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could defend themselves. And in South-Carolina the disproportion of negroe slaves to the number of white inhabitants was so great, that the government could not, with safety to the province, spare any reinforcement for the general enterprize. The plan for the campaign was to reduce Fort Niagara, as being the most effectual means for disabling the French from maintaining their forts on the Ohio, or keeping up their communication between Canada and Louisiana. Ticonderoga and Crown-Point were likewise to be reduced, for the security of New-York. All the convenient passes upon Lake Champlain were to be seized by the English; Fort du Quesne was to have been besieged; and Quebec itself to have been alarmed by a body of troops detached up the river Kennebec. This plan of operations was promising, and not impracticable, even by the British troops that were in readiness; but it seemed as if the general had no instructions to enter upon any decisive measures till the arrival of lord Loudon, who had been appointed commander in chief of all his majesty's forces in America, with powers that were supposed sufficient to remove all the delays, and the cause of those obstructions, which had defeated most of the former operations and salutary measures proposed for their common defence. But his lordship did not arrive till the season was too far



far advanced for their being executed ; occasioned, as was said, by the unsettled state of the English ministry. Besides, the provincial officers were so divided in their opinions, that his authority was necessary for bringing the troops into the field. And thus another year was lost, the provinces left exposed to the invasions and barbarities of the enemy, and the French, who received a reinforcement of near three thousand men, under the command of general Montcalm, an excellent officer from Europe, at liberty to strengthen their posts, and distress the English settlements, with impunity.

During this state of inactivity, the army received the disagreeable news of the enemy's entering the country of the Five Nations, our antient allies, where they reduced a small post, occupied by twenty-five Englishmen, whom they put to the sword, and butchered in a most cruel manner. Soon after, having received intelligence that a considerable convoy of provisions and stores, for the garrison at Oswego, was ready to set out from Schenectady, and be conveyed in battoes up the river Onondaga, they formed an ambuscade, among the woods and thickets, on the north side of that river ; but finding that the convoy had passed before they reached the place, they determined to wait the return of the detachment. Their design, however, was frustrated by the vigilance and bravery of colonel Bradstreet, who expected such an attempt, and had taken his measures accordingly. In his return down the river Onondaga, while he stemmed the stream with his battoes, formed into three divisions,

sions, he was saluted by a party of Indians, secreted amongst the bushes and trees on the north shore, with the war-whoop, and a general discharge of musketry. Bradstreet immediately landed his men on the opposite banks, and with a few of the foremost, took possession of a small island, where he was forthwith attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river; but these he soon repulsed. Then, quitting the island, and collecting together the whole of his strength, amounting to about two hundred men, he advanced, and fell sword in hand, upon another body, which had passed the river a mile higher, with such vigour, that many were cut in pieces, and the rest driven into the river with such precipitation that a considerable number of them were drowned. He then boldly attacked the main body of the enemy, consisting of above six hundred men, which had forded the river still higher, and pursued them to the other side, where they were entirely routed and dispersed; and, receiving afterwards a reinforcement under captain Patten, who was on his march to Oswego, and another of two hundred men from that garrison, he in all probability would have destroyed the whole French detachment, consisting of seven hundred men, had not an heavy rain fell, and swelled the river and rivulets so much as to render it impracticable to pursue the enemy. The action lasted near three hours. Our chief loss was among the battoe-men, by the first fire from the bushes; but the enemy had about two hundred killed, and seventy taken prisoners.

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The parties therefore separated, Patten and his men accompanied the detachment to Oswego, and Bradstreet marched to Schenectady; from whence he repaired to Albany, and acquainted general Abercrombie with the intelligence he had received from the prisoners, that the French had assembled a considerable force on the eastern side of Lake Ontario, with a numerous artillery, and all other implements, to besiege the fort of Oswego, the garrison of which, by this time, had been reinforced to the number of about fourteen hundred men, besides three hundred workmen and sailors, either in the fort, or posted in small parties between the fort and a place called Burnet's Field, to secure a passage through the country of the Six Nations, who were no longer to be relied on. Upon this information, major-general Webb was ordered to march with a regiment to the relief of Oswego. But notwithstanding the advantage which the loss of this place would give the enemy in all their future operations, and although the army at Albany could muster twenty-six hundred regulars, and near seven thousand provincials, under the command of general Winslow, at Fort William-Henry; their march was stopped by the arrival of Lord Loudon, tho' the necessaries were providing for their subsistence on the road. His presence did not at all contribute to the unanimity of the provincials; for, notwithstanding the imminent danger of Oswego, the province of New-York, and the northern governments, insisted upon the reduction of Crown-Point,

Point, previous to all other operations, as being most dangerous for their country ; and that some regiments of regulars should join general Winslow, who was marching with seven thousand provincials to attempt that conquest ; while the remainder of the army should remain at Albany, for the defence the frontier, in case Winslow should be defeated ; and, though they were at last prevailed with to consent to the march of general Webb, with the regiment first ordered by general Abercrombie, it was the 12th day of August before this supply could set out from Albany ; but on his arrival at the Carrying Place, between the Mohawks River and Wood's Creek, he met with the disagreeable news that Oswego was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. General Webb, apprehending himself in danger of being attacked by the enemy, therefore, returned to Albany, after having rendered Wood's Creek impassable to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the stream.

By this misfortune, the two forts, Ontario and Oswego, were lost. The garrison, as has been already observed, consisted of fourteen hundred men, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Mercer, a brave experienced officer ; but the situation of the forts was ill chosen, the materials mostly logs of wood, the defences badly contrived and unfinished, and, in short, the place quite untenable against a regular approach. The marquis de Montcalm, successor to Dieskau, an enterprizing officer, was charged with this expedition, having under his  
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command thirteen hundred regulars, seventeen hundred Canadians, and a considerable body of Indians. In the mean time, notwithstanding his precautions, lieutenant-colonel Mercer, who commanded the garrison, received repeated intelligence that the enemy were encamped about thirty miles to the eastward of Oswego, and particularly, on the 6th of August, that there was a large encampment of French and Indians about twelve miles east of the fort : he dispatched an express-boat to the commanding officer upon the lake, who was then out on a cruize to the westward, with a brigantine and two sloops, to acquaint him, that he intended next day to send four hundred men, in whale-boats, to visit the enemy, and desiring him to keep to the eastward as much as possible, in order to cover the men in the boats, and hinder the enemy from approaching nearer ; but, by some strange neglect, the vessels returned next day to Oswego, and, in endeavouring to enter the harbour, the brigantine was driven on rocky ground by a gale of wind, where she lay, beating about, for eighteen hours, and was afterwards forced to be hove down.

Monfieur Montcalm, who had proceeded with the utmost caution, to prevent a surprize, having gained intelligence of the situation of the English vessels, that the brigantine was stranded and the other two returned into the harbour, took the opportunity of transporting his stores and artillery from Fort Frontignac, where he had arrived the 6th of July ; over the lake, to the bay of Nixouri, within

within a mile and an half of Fort Ontario, the place of general rendezvous; having made admirable dispositions to secure a retreat, in case of a miscarriage. His first care was to block up the fort by water with two large armed vessels, and to post a strong body of Canadians on the road by land, to cut off all communication and succours from the besieged. At another creek, within half a league of Oswego, he erected a battery for the protection of his vessels; and on the 12th day of August, at midnight, having made the necessary dispositions, he opened the trenches before Fort Ontario, with thirty-two pieces of cannon, from ten to eighteen pounders, besides several brass mortars and howitzers. The garrison kept up a brisk fire till six o'clock the next evening, and killed their principal engineer in the trenches; but the colonel finding the place untenable, and having fired away all his shells and ammunition, ordered the cannon to be spiked up, evacuated the fort, and crossed the river to Little-Oswego Fort, which was effected without the loss of a single man.

The French general immediately took possession of the deserted fort; and, early the same night, began a grand battery, formed in such a manner that it could not only batter Fort Oswego, distant about two miles English, and secure the way from thence to Fort George, situated on a hill about four miles and an half up the river; but also annoy the entrenchment of Oswego.

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The troops, to the number of three hundred and seventy, or thereabouts, which had retreated from Fort Ontario, were ordered immediately to join colonel Schuyler, who was charged with the defence of the fort on the hill, to the west of the old fort, under the direction of Mr. Mackellar, the engineer : but the advantages proposed by a communication between these two forts were soon frustrated, from a bold action of a body of twenty five hundred Canadians and Indians, who swam across the river in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth, and cut off the communication between the two forts. The next day, colonel Mercer was unfortunately killed by a cannon-ball ; and the fort being destitute of all cover, the garrison left without a commander of equal abilities, demanded a capitulation the following day ; and surrendered prisoners of war, upon condition of their being exempted from plunder, carried to Montreal, and treated with humanity. To the eternal stain of Montcalm's reputation, and the French name, these articles were violated. Under the shameful pretence that he could not restrain the Indians, they were suffered not only to rob, but to murder several of the English officers and soldiers, after they had given up their arms, and most inhumanly to scalp the sick and wounded who were in the English hospital : they assassinated lieutenant de la Court, as he lay wounded in his tent, under the protection of a French officer : finally, Montcalm, in direct violation of the articles, and in contempt of common

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humanity, delivered twenty of the garrison into the hands of the Indians ; who, in all probability, were put to death with the most excruciating tortures, according to the custom of those savages, (a circumstance that he could be no stranger to) in revenge of the same number of Indians killed during the siege.

The French, having thus made themselves masters of Oswego, instantly demolished the two forts, in which they found one hundred and twenty one pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and provisions, besides two sloops, and two hundred battoes ; and embarked with the utmost speed for Fort Frontignac, with their prisoners and booty, in their way back to Montreal and Quebec. Perhaps the depositing such an important magazine in a place altogether indefensible, is as palpable an instance of folly, temerity, and misconduct, as any to be met with in history.

Thus fell the key of the Lake Ontario, by the neglect of the managers, the impropriety and insufficiency of the means made use of to defend it from the attacks of an enemy, from the delays that prevented a timely relief, and from too great a fear for the preservation of New-York and New-England. But the loss of this post, the garrison, and implements of war, which had been so indiscreetly lodged there, was not the worst effect of such fatal misconduct. The stopping up Wood's Creek, the only communication from the Mohawks River to Oneyada ; and deserting and destroying the forts at the Great Carrying



rying Place, which, after the loss of Oswego, was our most advanced post in the country of the Six Nations; a post so strongly fortified, and so inaccessible to the enemy's artillery, that it might have defied the whole French army in America to take it; together with general Webb's retreat to the German Flats, about sixty miles nearer to Albany; exposed the Six Nations, and all the adjacent country, to the mercy of the enemy, who were at liberty to over-run the fine country on the Mohawk's River almost to Albany, and to penetrate into the provinces of Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. It also encouraged the Indians to join our enemies, or observe a strict neutrality, when they found we were not able to protect them, and the French had performed their promise to destroy Oswego.

The earl of Loudon, finding the season too far advanced to admit of any enterprize against the enemy, applied himself to make preparations for an early campaign in the spring, to form an uniform plan of action, and to promote a spirit of harmony among the different governments. He caused comfortable barracks to be built at Albany, where he put his forces into winter-quarters; and provided the forts Edward and William-Henry with numerous garrisons.

Fort Granville, on the confines of Pennsylvania, an inconsiderable block-house, was surprized, plundered, and burnt, by the enemy, who drove into captivity the small garrison, consisting of twenty-

two soldiers, with a few women and children; and in their incursions perpetrated many shocking murders upon the defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers. In revenge, colonel Armstrong, with a party of two hundred and eighty provincials, marched from Fort Shirley, on the Juniata River, one hundred and fifty miles west of Philadelphia, to Kittanning, an Indian town, the rendezvous of the Morian Indians, who had been concerned in destroying Fort Granville, situated twenty-five miles above Fort du Quesne, on the Ohio, a rout of one hundred and forty miles, through the woods; with whom he came up in the morning early of the fifth day, while the Indian warriors were regaling themselves with a dance. The colonel discovered their situation by their whooping; and, halting about one hundred perches below the town, on the bank of the river, prepared his men, and attacked them as soon as the day broke. Captain Jacobs, the chief of the Indians, defended his house bravely, through loop-holes in the logs. The colonel offered them quarter; but they, fearful of his sincerity, refused to submit. By this obstinacy, their houses having been fired, many were suffocated and burnt, and captain Jacobs, his squaw, and a boy called the king's son, were shot, as they were attempting to escape through a window, and the rest, to the number of near forty, perished in the assault. Eleven English prisoners were released, who had been taken in a skirmish by the Indians the night before.

To



To prevent, as much as possible, the incursions of the Indians for the future, a strong fort was built at Winchester, called Fort Loudon. The governor of Pensylvania concluded a treaty of peace with the Delawar Indians, who inhabit the banks of the river Susquehanna; as the governor of Virginia did another with the Cherokees and Catowbas, two powerful neighbouring Indian tribes, capable of bringing three thousand warriors into the field, four hundred of whom joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland.

No action of great importance distinguished the naval transactions of this year. On the coasts of America, in the beginning of June, captain Spry, who commanded a small squadron cruising off Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, took the *Arc en Ciel*, a French man of war of fifty guns, having on board six hundred men, with a large quantity of stores and provisions, for that garrison; as also, another ship with seventy soldiers, two hundred barrels of powder, two large brass mortars, and other warlike stores. And on the twenty-seventh of July, Captain Holmes, being in the same latitude, with two ships of the line, and a couple of sloops, engaged two French ships of the line of superior force, and four frigates, and obliged them to sheer off, after a sharp engagement.

## The CAMPAIGN of 1757.

THE long meditated attack on Crown-Point being for the present laid aside, an expedition to Louisbourg was substituted in its place. On the ninth of July, admiral Holborn arrived at Halifax, with a strong reinforcement of men and ships\*, by which the earl of Loudon, who waited his arrival at that place, was put at the head of the greatest European army that had ever appeared in North-America. Several small vessels were now dispatch-

\* The fleet consisted of the following ships, including one ship of the line and twelve frigates before in North-America.

Ships.		Men. Guns.		Ships,		Men. Guns.	
Newark		700	80	Succes		150	22
Invincible		700	74	Port Mahon		150	22
Grafton		590	68	Nightingale		150	22
Terrible		630	74	Kennington		150	20
Northumberland		520	68	Elphingham		150	20
Captain		580	68	Ferrit sloop		120	16
Orford		520	68	Furnace bomb		100	16
Bedford		480	64	ditto		100	16
Nassau		480	64	Vulture sloop		100	14
Sunderland		400	64	Hunter		100	14
Defiance		400	64	Speedwell		90	12
Tilbury		400	64	Hawke		100	12
Kingston		400	60	Gibraltar's Prize		80	12
Windsor		350	54	Jamaica		100	14
Sutherland		306	50	Lightning fireship		50	
Winchelsea		160	24				
						10200	1350
							ed



ed to discover the strength of the enemy at Louisbourg; which returned with the unwelcome news, that there was at that time in the island of Cape Breton six thousand regular troops, and three thousand militia, besides Indians, together with seventeen ships of the line, and three frigates, moored in the harbour of Louisbourg, commanded by M. de Bois de la Mothe, who had sailed from Brest in May; which intelligence was confirmed by letters found on board a packet, bound from Louisbourg to France, taken by one of the ships stationed at Newfoundland: the expedition, therefore, was deferred till some more convenient opportunity.

The departure of Lord Loudon, with all the regular troops to Halifax, gave the French general, Montcalm, an opportunity of improving the successes of the former campaign. In the very opening of the season, he had made three different attacks on Fort William-Henry, in all which he had been repulsed by the bravery and vigilance of the garrison. Colonel Parker, in attempting with about four hundred men, in whale and bay boats, to dislodge a French advanced guard at Ticonderago, was outwitted by the enemy, who having waylaid three boats which he had sent to the main land to make discoveries, and procured information of the colonel's designs from the prisoners, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three battoes to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker, mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, and was surrounded by the

enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, who attacked him with such impetuosity that only two officers and seventy soldiers, escaped of the whole detachment. Montcalm flushed with this success, and animated by the absence of Lord Loudon, drew his forces together, and made fresh preparations for the siege of Fort William-Henry, situated on the southern coast of Lake George, with a view to command that lake, and protect the English colonies. The fort was garrisoned by about three thousand regulars, and general Webb was posted at no great distance with an army of four thousand men. Montcalm brought against it near ten thousand troops, including Canadians and Indians, and a good train of artillery; and invested the fort, which he immediately summoned to surrender; out of humanity, as he pretended, it being, as he said, yet in his power to restrain the cruelties of his Indians, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them were yet killed; which would not be in his power in other circumstances. The garrison of the fort, depending on being relieved by general Webb, made a brave defence; but being disappointed in their expectations, were obliged on the ninth of August, the sixth day of the siege, to capitulate. The terms were, that the garrison and troops in the retrenched camp should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessities of war, escorted by a detachment of French troops, or interpreters, attached to the Savages. It was agreed, that the



the gate of the fort should be delivered to the French troops immediately after the capitulation was signed, and the retrenched camp on the departure of the English forces : that the artillery, warlike stores, provisions, and in general every thing, except the effects of the officers and soldiers, should, upon honour, be delivered to his Most Christian majesty's troops ; for which purpose, it was agreed there should be delivered with the capitulation an exact state of the troops, and an inventory of the stores : that the garrison of the fort, and the rest of the troops, should not serve for the space of eighteen months against his Most Christian majesty, or his allies : that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women, and Indians, made prisoners by land, since the commencement of the war in America, be delivered within three months at Carillon ; in return for which, an equal number of the garrison should be capacitated to serve : that an officer should remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escort sent with the English troops : that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm, who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered : that provisions for two days should be issued out for the English troops : and that, in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel Munro and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the  
mar-

marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six-pounder.

These articles were perfidiously broke through, in almost every point. The Indians in the French interest were permitted to commit the most inhuman cruelties : they plundered the English troops as they marched out, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, and tomohawked and scalped them ; they ripped up the bellies of the women, and acted over again the tragedy at Oswego, in sight of the French army. However, the greatest part of the army got safe, though in a wretched condition, to Fort Edward, after having been pursued above seven miles by the Indians ; and the remainder, flying for protection to the French general, were by him sent home. The enemy demolished the forts, carried off the effects, provisions, and artillery, together with the vessel that had been constructed on the lake, and then returned to Montreal, without making any further attempts on the colonies \*.

\* In the month of July, the enemy were very near surprizing Fort Johnson by a stratagem. Their intention was to rush into the fort in the evening, when the gate was opened to admit the women, sent out every day to milk the cattle. But being a few minutes too late, the gates were luckily shut before they arrived ; upon which they knocked for admission, were challenged, and fired upon by the centinel. Immediately, the cannon were fired, to alarm the country ; and the enemy, perceiving their scheme baffled, retired precipitately.

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The expedition to Louisbourg being laid aside, admiral Holbourne, no longer embarrassed with the care of transports, sailed for Louisbourg with fifteen ships of the line, four frigates, and a fireship. On the twentieth of August he appeared before the harbour, and saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor; but being greatly inferior in strength to the enemy, did not chuse to risk an engagement, and therefore returned to Halifax: but being reinforced about the middle of September with four ships of the line, he again sailed to Louisbourg, with an intention to draw the enemy to a battle. La Mothe, the French admiral, was however too prudent to hazard an engagement, the loss of which must have exposed all the French colonies to the attempts of the English. The squadron continued cruizing before the harbour of Louisbourg until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm. In about twelve hours, they were driven within two miles of the breakers on the coast of that island, when the wind providentially shifted, and saved the whole squadron from inevitable destruction, except one, which was lost on the rocks, and about half the crew perished. Eleven ships were dismasted, others threw their guns overboard, and the whole returned to England, in a shattered condition.

Thus ended the third campaign in America, by sea and land, where, with twenty thousand regular troops, and a navy of twenty ships of the line, nothing was done against the enemy; our forts were taken from us, our Indians left

defenceless to the mercy of the enemy, and a large tract of country relinquished, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

### The CAMPAIGN of 1758.

**T**HE English ministry, being greatly dissatisfied with the conduct of the war in America, lord Loudon was recalled; and the command there, of course, devolved upon general Abercrombie. The army then in America consisted of fifty thousand troops, of whom twenty-two thousand were regulars, exclusive of the fleet and marines. The troops being divided into three detached bodies, as the objects of operation were various, were headed by three distinct leaders. Twelve thousand men were destined for an attempt upon Louisbourg, under the command of major-general Amherst; sixteen thousand, under the general himself, were reserved for the reduction of Crown-Point; and eight thousand, under the direction of brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne.

The reduction of Louisbourg, being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. On the twenty-eighth of May, general Amherst embarked his troops at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, and sailed for Louisbourg, with the English squadron, consisting of twenty-one line of battle ships, and twenty frigates, commanded by admiral Boscawen, that had arrived from England some  
time



time before ; the whole fleet, including transports, amounted to one hundred and fifty sail. On the second of June, the fleet came safely to an anchor in Gabarus Bay, about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place was composed of two thousand five hundred regular troops, and three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, under the command of the Chevalier Drucour ; and, soon after the landing of the English forces, the enemy was reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including sixty Indians. The mouth of the harbour was guarded by six ships of the line and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render the passage impassable to the English fleet. The governor had taken every precaution in his power to prevent a landing : he had drawn entrenchments in every part where he supposed it possible to land, supported them with batteries in convenient places, and lined them with a numerous infantry. But though this chain of posts extended two leagues and an half along the most accessible parts of the beach, some spots still remained unfortified ; and on one of these the English forces were disembarked.

Upon the first appearance of the English fleet, the French governor, Drucour, sent out several detachments to observe their motions ; but general Amherst, by sending several sloops, under a strong convoy, towards Lorembec, beyond the mouth of the harbour, drew the enemy's attention to that

part of the island, while a landing was actually effected on the other side of the town, on the eighth of June, under the command of brigadier-general Wolfe; several sloops and frigates having previously scoured the beach with their shot. The disembarkation, however, was attended with many difficulties, from a violent surf which rolled impetuously on the beach, and a severe fire of cannon and musquetry from the enemy, who reserved their shot till the boats were almost close to the shore. Wolfe, however, pursued his point, with admirable courage and deliberation; and the soldiers, though the fire of the enemy did great execution, and many boats were overset and broke to pieces, supported and encouraged in all difficulties, by the example, spirit, and conduct, of their truly gallant commander, leaped into the water, gained the shore, (the general himself being among the first who landed), and fell upon the enemy with such order and resolution, that they soon obliged them to fly in confusion. But the difficulty of landing artillery and stores in boisterous weather, added to the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege, which were carried on with great circumspection by general Amherst.

The first thing done was to secure a point called the Lighthouse-Battery, from whence they might play upon the French ships in the harbour, which were capable of bringing all their guns to bear upon  
the



the approaches of the besiegers, and on the batteries on the other side of the harbour. General Wolfe performed this service with his usual conduct, activity, and bravery ; and took possession of this and all the other posts in that quarter. His fire from this post, on the twenty-fifth, silenced the island battery, which was that most immediately opposed to his. In the interim, the besieged made several sallies, but with very little effect : but the ships in the harbour still continued to bear upon him, until the twenty-first of the following month, when one of them blew up, and communicating the fire to two others, they also were, in a short time, consumed to the water edge. The regular approaches conducted by the engineers, under the immediate command and inspection of general Amherst, were now carried on with vigour, and drew near the covered way, and things were in a good condition to make a lodgment on it ; the enemy's fire was considerably slackened ; the town was consumed to the ground, in many places ; and the works had suffered much, in every part. Yet the enemy still delaying to surrender, the admiral, who had, during the whole siege, co-operated with the general with remarkable harmony, cheerfully assisting him with cannon and other implements, with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and assist in working the guns and mortars ; notwithstanding the severity of the weather, resolved on a stroke, which, by being decisive of the possession of the harbour,

harbour, might make the reduction of the town a matter of little difficulty. He accordingly sent six hundred seamen in boats, to take or burn the two ships of the line which remained ; and, if successful in this attempt, he proposed the next day to send in some of his great ships, to batter the town on the side of the harbour. This scheme was successfully executed by captains Laforey and Balfour, who entering the harbour, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days of the month, in spite of the fire from the French ships and batteries, boarded them, sword in hand, and made themselves masters of both the ships ; one of which was set on fire and destroyed, being aground, but the other was towed out of the harbour in triumph.

This stroke, in support of the spirited endeavours of the land forces, was conclusive ; the French governor, finding it impossible to stand an assault, and divers practicable breaches being effected, capitulated on the next day, by which he and his garrison became prisoners of war. Thus, at the expence of about four hundred men, killed or wounded, the important island of Cape Breton, and strong town of Louisbourg, were taken ; in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, with a very large quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants were sent to France in English ships ; but the garrison, sea-officers, sailors, and marines, amounting, in the whole, to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, were carried prisoners to England.



As this island, and the town of Louisbourg, were of the greatest importance to France, and the centre of their valuable fishery, a constant repository for their privateers, who from thence in great numbers infested the colonies, and the key to their settlements on the continent of North-America; a description of both, while they remained in the hands of the enemy, will not, we hope, prove disagreeable to the reader, especially as the island is now ceded to England, the fortifications demolished, and the strong forts and batteries rendered a confused heap of ruins.

The town of Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, was situated in the latitude of 45 deg. 50 min. north, and 58 deg. 35 min. west, of the meridian of London. It was of a middling size; the houses of wood, on stone foundations, which were carried about six feet above the ground. The town was walled, and extremely well fortified in the modern manner: there was, indeed, one part without any wall, for about an hundred yards; but it would have been here quite unnecessary, the sea flowing close to the town, and therefore a pallisadoe was judged a sufficient defence. Even small barks could not approach it, for want of a sufficient depth of water; and ships were obliged to keep at a very considerable distance, on account of rocks and shoals. Besides, there were two collateral bastions, which flanked this part very advantageously. In the centre of one of the chief bastions was a strong building, with a moat on the side towards the town,

which was called the citadel, though it had neither artillery nor a structure proper to receive any : the entrance to it, indeed, was over a draw-bridge ; on one side of which was a corps de garde, and advanced centinels on the other. Within this building were the apartments for the governor, the barracks for the garrison, and the arsenal ; and under the platform of the redoubt, a magazine, always well furnished with military stores. The parish church also stood within the citadel ; and without it was another, belonging to the hospital of St. Jean de Dieu, an elegant, spacious structure, though founded long since.

The harbour is large and safe, but the entrance very narrow ; being confined between an island, on which was a strong fort, and the opposite side, where was a very high tower, made use of as a lighthouse. Here was a large fortification, called the Royal Battery, which defended the mouth of the harbour ; and beyond it another fort, built farther within the harbour. From this fort the coast winds inward, and forms a large bay, with a good depth of water, defended from all winds ; and here the large vessels were laid up in winter ; but in summer they anchored before the town, at about a quarter of a league distance ; though smaller ships might come within a cable's length of the shore, and lie quiet from all winds except the east, which blows right into the harbour's mouth.

The entrance of the harbour is very safe, there being only one rock, which is under water ; but the



sands near it are dry. In winter, however, the harbour is entirely frozen over : that season begins here towards the end of November, and lasts till May or June. Sometimes the frosts set in sooner, and are more intense ; it not being uncommon for the harbour to be wholly frozen over in October.

The island produces a great quantity of timber ; particularly oaks of a prodigious size, pines fit for masts, cedar, ash, plane-trees, and aspens, and contains excellent coal-mines. The great length, and intense cold, of the winters, being a great impediment to agriculture, the inhabitants made fishing their sole occupation ; and their example was followed by the inhabitants of St. John's, a small adjacent island in the gulph of St. Laurence, which submitted immediately, upon the reduction of Louisbourg.

In the mean time, the military operations on the continent were carried on with equal vigour. The forces under the immediate conduct of general Abercrombie, consisting of near seven thousand regular troops and ten thousand Provincials, embarked, in the beginning of July, on the Lake George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, with provisions, artillery, and ammunition ; several pieces of artillery being mounted on rafts to cover the intended landing, which was effected without opposition. The general then formed his troops into three columns, and marched against Ticonderoga, a fort, situated on a

point of land between Lake George and a narrow gut communicating with Lake Champlain, secured by a morass in front, and on the other three sides surrounded with water.

The enemy's advanced guard fled on his approach, with great precipitation, deserting a logged camp, after having burnt their tents, &c. The country was all a thick wood, thro' which the English forces continued their march, but found it impassable, with any regularity, for such a body of men; and the guides proving extremely unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken, falling in one upon another. Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a party of French regulars, of about four hundred men, who had lost their way in their retreat from their advanced post: a skirmish ensued, in which the enemy were routed, with considerable loss; one hundred and forty-eight being taken prisoners, including five officers. This trifling advantage was dearly bought with the loss of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted; having distinguished himself, in a peculiar manner, by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and acquired the esteem and love of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address. The troops were now so greatly fatigued and disordered, from want of rest and refreshment, that general Abercrombie thought it adviseable to march back to the landing place. As soon as the men were recovered

covered from their fatigue, lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet was detached with a regiment of regulars, six companies of Royal Americans, and a body of Rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which had been deserted by the enemy.

Abercrombie having secured this post, advanced to Ticonderoga, where the enemy had made a very strong line, upwards of eight feet high, on that part of the front where the morass failed, defended by cannon, and near six thousand men, including Canadians and Indians. A great number of felled trees, with their branches outward, were spread before the entrenchment, which projected in such a manner as to render it almost inaccessible.

Nevertheless, the engineer who was sent to reconnoitre the place, made so favourable a report of the entrenchment, that it appeared practicable to force it by musquetry alone; and, in consequence thereof, the fatal resolution was taken not to wait the arrival of the artillery, which could not be easily brought up, on account of the badness of the ground; but to attack the enemy, without loss of time. The general was confirmed in this precipitate resolution, by the account he received from his prisoners, that a body of three thousand men, under Mons. de Levy, were on their march to join the enemy, and were very shortly expected to arrive. This officer had been detached to make an irruption through the pass of Oneyada, on the Mohawks River, but had been recalled, before he could exe-



cute this design, upon intelligence of general Abercrombie's approach to Ticonderoga\*.

When the attack began, the strength of the enemies lines, which had been so little foreseen, was but too severely felt. Though the troops behaved with the utmost spirit and gallantry, they suffered so terribly in their approaches, and made so little impression on the intrenchment, that the general seeing their repeated and obstinate efforts fail of success, (being upwards of four hours exposed to a most terrible fire from the enemy, who were so well covered, that they could with the greatest deliberation direct their fire without the least danger to themselves), thought it necessary to order a retreat. The army retired unmolested to their former camp, to the southward of Lake George, the evening after the action, with the loss of about eighteen hundred men, killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps behaved on this unfortunate occasion, with the greatest intrepidity; but the greatest loss was sustained by lord John Murray's highland regiment, of which above half of the private men, and twenty-five officers were either killed or desperately wounded.

To repair this misfortune, general Abercrombie detached colonel Bradstreet with three thou-

\* Brigadier Stanwix was afterwards sent thither, with a considerable body of Provincials; and this important pass secured by a fort built at that juncture.]

and Provincials, against Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Laurence, where it takes its rise from the Lake Ontario. The colonel had some time since formed a plan for making himself master of this place; he accordingly, after having surmounted great difficulties, penetrated with his army, to the eastern bank of the Lake Ontario, where embarking on board several sloops and batteaus, provided for that purpose, he landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which, consisting of one hundred and ten men and a few Indians, surrendered at discretion in less than two days after it had been attacked, without the loss of a single man on our side. The fort itself was inconsiderable and badly constructed, being only a square of one hundred yards; and though it contained sixty cannon, only half of them were mounted, and sixteen small mortars. Nine armed sloops were taken and burnt, and an immense quantity of provisions and merchandize, designed for their troops on the Ohio, and their garrisons to the southward and westward. The fort poorly fortified and weakly garrisoned for a post of such importance, being the magazine for all their western and southern garrisons and Indian allies, was demolished, agreeable to general Abercrombie's instructions. Colonel Bradstreet having performed this important service, returned safely to Oswego. This was a severe blow to the enemy, whose troops to the southward were now in danger of starving; but it is

not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon a post so strong by nature, that if it had been properly fortified and garrisoned, and the vessels preserved and kept cruising on the lake, it might have rendered the English masters of Lake Ontario, and have terribly harrassed the enemy, both in their commerce and expeditions to the westward.

However, in all probability, the success of colonel Bradstreet greatly facilitated that of the expedition against Fort du Quesne, under general Forbes ; who with his little army of six thousand men, began his march from Philadelphia for the River Ohio, in the beginning of July, through a prodigious tract of country, very little known, and rendered almost impassable by woods, mountains, and morasses, being continually harrassed on his route by the French Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-town, distant ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced colonel Bouquet with two thousand men, to Lyal Henning, fifty miles farther ; that officer detached major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks ; but the enemy suddenly falling out, on his approach, with a large body of forces, the colonel, after a severe engagement that lasted three hours, being overpowered with numbers, was obliged to retreat with the loss of three hundred men, killed or taken prisoners, including major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and  
nineteen



nineteen officers. But this was the enemy's last success, for the main body of the army being conducted with greater skill and circumspection, baffled all their attempts ; so that being now convinced by several skirmishes, that all their attempts to surprize the troops and interrupt their communication were in vain ; and their Indians wavering in their obedience, in proportion as the English army advanced, they dismantled and abandoned the fort, and fell down the Ohio, on the twenty-fourth of November, towards their more southern settlements on the Mississippi. The next day general Forbes erected the English flag on Fort du Quesne, which he named Pittsburgh : and having repaired its works, left a garrison of Provincials there, and concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes ; and on his march back to Philadelphia built a blockhouse, near Lyaf Henning, for the defence of Pensylvania ; but his constitution being delicate, died of fatigue, before the army arrived at that province. Thus, without the least resistance, in the third year after the commencement of hostilities, we became masters of the fortrefs, the contention for which had kindled up the flames of so destructive and general a war ; and, notwithstanding the unhappy affair at Ticonderoga, the campaign proved highly advantageous and honourable to the English interest. Louisbourg, St. John's, Frontenac, and Du Quesne reduced, removed from the colonies all terror of the Indian incur-

incursions, drew from the French those useful allies, freed the frontiers from the yoke of their enemy's forts, made their supplies difficult, their communications precarious, and all their defensive, or offensive operations ineffectual; while their country, uncovered of its principal bulwarks, laid open to the heart, and afforded the most pleasing prospects of success from the vigorous measures intended to be pursued in the ensuing campaign.

The French, as has been already seen, by artful insinuations, had drawn most of the Indian nations from their alliance with Great Britain, and instigated those savages to commit the most horrid acts of barbarity on the innocent inhabitants of the back settlements: but the time was now come when their perfidious falsities lost their prevailing power. A grand assembly of the Indian nations was held at Easton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia, and a formal treaty concluded between Great Britain and fifteen Indian tribes, inhabiting the vast tract of country lying between the Appalachian mountains and the lakes. The Twightees, an Indian tribe, settled between the Ohio and the lakes, did not, however, assist at this assembly, though some steps had been taken towards an alliance with them. The conferences were managed by the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, accompanied by Sir William Johnson's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Pennsylvania, six members of the assembly, two agents for New Jersey, and a great number of  
planters

planters and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly Quakers. The names of the Indian nations which assisted at this treaty were the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Nanticogues, Conoys, Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Delawares, Unamies, Minisinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers, the whole number of Indian deputies and chiefs amounting to five hundred, including their women and children. The deputies of the Six Nations expressed their resentment on the occasion, for some excesses committed by the English on their people. The Delawares and Minisinks complained, that the English had encroached on their lands, and given the first occasion for hostilities. There was also a misunderstanding between the Indians themselves, the chiefs of the Six Nations taking umbrage at the importance assumed by Teedyuscung, one of the Delawares, over whom, as their descendants, they exercise a kind of parental authority ; so that the principal business of the English governors, was to ascertain the limits of the lands in dispute, reconcile the Six Nations with the Delawares their nephews, remove every cause of complaint against the English, detach them from the French interest, and induce them to exert their influence in persuading the Twightees to accede to this treaty. These savages, though possessed of few ideas, their mental faculties circumscribed within very narrow bounds, and their behaviour brutal and ferocious, yet conduct themselves in matters of importance to the community, by the general maxims of  
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of reason and justice; and their treaties, though managed in a ridiculous manner, are founded upon good sense and sound reason. Their language is harsh, guttural, and polysyllabical; and their speech consists of hyperbolical metaphors and similes, that give it an air of dignity, and heighten the expression. They manage their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of beads formed out of a hard shell, and either strung in single rows, or sewed on broad belts of different dimensions, according to the importance of the subject. These belts are exchanged whenever a proposition is offered, an answer made, a promise corroborated, a declaration attested, or a treaty confirmed. The conferences lasted eighteen days; and the precision with which the Indians treated was wonderful: for they required satisfaction for, and mentioned every life their countrymen had lost, and the smallest damage they had sustained. At length, every article being settled, to the approbation of all parties, the Indians were gratified with valuable presents, and returned the next day to their respective places of abode, seemingly with a hearty detestation of the French.

### The CAMPAIGN of 1759.

**T**HE Indians being once more united to the English interest, instead of employing the whole strength of our arms against one object, which would have rendered our natural superiority of  
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of little use, by suffering the enemy to collect, as they had hitherto done, their strength into one single point ; it was proposed, this year, to fall as nearly as possible at the same time upon Crown Point, Niagara, Quebec, and the forts to the south of Lake Erie : that by thus distracting and weakening the enemy, all Canada might fall in one campaign. The different expeditions were planned in such a manner as to assist each other. General Wolfe, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Louisbourg, was to proceed up the river St. Lawrence as soon as the navigation should be free from ice, with a body of eight thousand men, and a strong squadron of ships from England, to besiege Quebec, the capital of Canada. General Amherst, the commander in chief, at the head of twelve thousand troops, was to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, then cross Lake Champlain, and proceeding along the banks of the river Richlieu, to the river St. Lawrence, join general Wolfe before Quebec. Brigadier-general Prideaux with a third body of troops, assisted by a considerable number of Indians, assembled by the influence and under the command of Sir William Johnson, had orders to attack the French fort near the fall of Niagara, which commanded in a manner all the interior parts of North America, and was a key to the whole continent. As soon as this fort was carried, the general was to embark on the Lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Lawrence, make himself master of Montreal,

treal, and then join general Amherst. General Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment for reducing the forts on the Ohio, and scouring the banks of the Lake Ontario. It was imagined that if general Prideaux's scheme, in addition to its own end, should not facilitate either of the other two capital undertakings, it would probably, as Niagara was the most important place the French had in that part of the world, make them draw together all the troops they had upon the lakes, to attempt its relief, which would leave the forts on those lakes exposed. In reality it had that effect.

X The army under general Amherst was the first in motion. Lake George, or, as the French called it, Lake Sacrament, is a long, but, in proportion, narrow body of water, about forty miles in length, and inclosed on either side with marshy grounds, which communicates by another long, and very narrow freight, with Lake Champlain. This freight was secured at each side by a fort; that to the side of Lake George was called Ticonderoga, that towards the Champlain Lake was called Fort Frederic, or Crown Point, both extremely strong by their situation; and the former had repulsed our troops with considerable loss last year, as has been already related. The general passed Lake George without the least opposition from the enemy; though the progress of his operations had been so greatly retarded by impediments thrown in his way by certain individuals of great influence  
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in America, that the season was far advanced before he crossed the lake. On his arrival before Ticonderoga, the French at first seemed determined to defend the place ; but perceiving the English general both prudent, cautious, and resolute, and being perfectly acquainted with the strength of our forces, having also orders to retreat from place to place towards the centre of their operations at Quebec, rather than run the least risque of being made prisoners of war ; they abandoned this strong post in the night of the 27th of July, after having damaged its fortifications as much as the time would possibly admit, and retired to Crown Point.

General Amherst immediately set himself about repairing the works of this strong post, which effectually secured Lake George, covered the frontiers of New York, and was of such vast importance to enable him to push forward his offensive operations, or to favour his retreat if unsuccessful. In the mean time he continually detached scouting parties into the neighbourhood of Crown Point, in order to watch the motions of the enemy ; and although he had room to imagine that the same reasons which had induced them to abandon their lines at Ticonderoga, would induce them also to evacuate Crown Point, he took all his measures with the same care and caution as if he had expected an obstinate defence, and an attempt to surprize him on his march ; mindful how fatal too much security had proved to us in this part of the world on many occasions. One of his scouting parties brought

brought intelligence, on the first of August, that the French had abandoned Crown Point, as he had foreseen, after setting the fort on fire, a body of rangers were immediately dispatched to take possession of the place, and the general himself embarked with the rest of the army, and on the 4th day of the month, arrived at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. Being thus in possession of the most important post in this part of the country, he immediately laid the foundations of a new fort for the farther security of the British dominions on that side, and to prevent the incursions of scalping parties, by whom the frontier plantations had so dreadfully suffered. Hitherto the French had been actually established in the heart of our territories, so that during a war of three years we had in fact been only acting on the defensive; but now the scene was changed.

The general, soon after his arrival at Crown Point received information, that the enemy, to the number of three thousand five hundred men, under the command of Monsieur de Bourlemaque, with a strong train of artillery, had retired to Isle au Noix, situated near the north east extremity of Lake Champlain; and that the lake was occupied by four large vessels mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets from different regiments, under the direction of Mons. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, assisted by Mons. de Rigal and other sea officer; with which they  
hoped

hoped to prevent the progress of the English into the interior parts of Canada. In consequence of this advice, general Amherst, who had for some time employed captain Loring in building of vessels at Ticonderoga, being sensible of the consequence of a naval superiority on the lake, directed him to launch, as expeditiously as possible, a sloop of sixteen guns, and a float of timber eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying six large cannon, together with a brigantine. These vessels being ready for sea by the 11th of October, the general embarked with the whole army in batteaus, in order to attack the enemy; but the weather growing tempestuous, he was forced to take shelter in a bay on the western shore, where the men were landed for refreshment. In the interim, captain Loring, with his small squadron, sailed down the lake, chased a French schooner, and drove three of their vessels into a bay, where two of them were sunk, and one run aground by their own crews, who by that means made their escape: the last, however, was repaired and brought off by captain Loring, so that now the enemy had only one schooner remaining. General Amherst, after having remained some days wind-bound, reimarked his troops and proceeded on his voyage; but the storm that had abated, beginning to blow again with redoubled fury, so as to render it impossible for boats to live on the lake, the season for action being over, and winter setting in with the most rigorous severity, he found it was impossible to ac-



comply with his design, and therefore returned to the same bay where he had before taken shelter, relanded his troops, and marched back to Crown Point, which he reached the 21<sup>st</sup> of October. Having secured a superiority on the lake, his attention was now wholly employed in erecting the new fortress at Crown Point, and three small out-forts for its better defence ; in opening roads of communication between Ticonderoga and the provinces of New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay ; and in making dispositions for the winter quarters of his troops, so as to protect the back colonies from the inroads of the enemy.

During this whole summer he received not the least intelligence of general Wolfe's operations, except a few hints contained in some letters relating to the exchange of prisoners, sent from the French general, Montcalm, who gave him to understand, that Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and seemed resolved to besiege that city : that he had honoured him (the French general) with several notes, sometimes filled with threats, sometimes couched in a soothing strain ; adding, that they were determined to give him battle soon, and that a few days would determine the fate of Quebec. But his communication continued open with the army under general Prideaux, and he received advice before he left Ticonderoga, that the expedition against Niagara had proved successful.

General Prideaux, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnson, advanced to

to the cataract of Niagara, without meeting with the least obstruction, and investing the fort about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigour, until the 20th of that month, when visiting the trenches, he was unfortunately killed by the bursting of a cohorn. As soon as this accident happened, an express was dispatched to general Amherst, who, without loss of time, sent brigadier-general Gage from Ticonderoga to assume the command of the army : but the command, which in the interim had devolved upon Sir William Johnson, could not have been better bestowed. He omitted nothing to continue the vigorous measures adopted by the deceased general ; and pushed on the siege with so much alacrity, that in a few days the approaches were brought within one hundred yards of the covered way.

The enemy, alarmed at the imminent danger of this important place, collected all the regular troops and Canadians which they could draw from Detroit, Venango, Presque Isle, and all their posts about the lakes, and a large body of Indians, in order to reinforce the garrison at Niagara. The whole detachment amounted to seventeen hundred men, under the command of Monsi. d'Aubry. General Johnson, being informed of their approach, made the necessary dispositions for intercepting them in their march. The light infantry and piquets were posted, in the evening, to the left, on the road leading from the Fall of Nia-

gara to the fortress; and were reinforced in the morning early with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-sixth regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Massey; whilst another regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Farquhar, was posted at the tail of the works, in order to support the guard of the trenches. The Indians in the English service were placed on his flank. In the mean time, the French continued their march, and about eight in the morning discovered the English army, drawn up in order of battle. The Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnson, advanced to speak with their countrymen who served in the French army; but they declined this conference, and immediately uttered the horrible scream called the war-whoop, which had now lost its effect among the British forces, and began the attack with the greatest impetuosity. But the enemy were so well received, that in about half an hour their whole army was routed. The pursuit was hot and bloody; it continued for five miles, and the French general, with all his officers, were taken prisoners.

This action, which happened on the 24th of July, was fought in sight of the French garrison at Niagara; and was no sooner decided in our favour, than the general sent major Harvey, with a trumpet, to the governor of the fort, with a list of the seventeen officers taken prisoners, to exhort him to surrender, while he had it still in his power to  
restrain



restrain the Indians ; adding, that he was at liberty to send a person to see the officers, and satisfy himself with respect to the fact. Accordingly, an officer was dispatched from the fort, and suffered to converse with Mr. d'Aubry, and the other prisoners. On his return the governor agreed to treat, and the capitulation was signed that very night. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and, to the number of six hundred and seven men, were conducted to New-York. Sir William Johnson, by his influence over the Indians, protected them from their savage insolence and cruelty, so that the soldiers kept their baggage ; all the women, at their own request, were sent to Montreal ; and the sick and wounded were treated with the utmost care and humanity. Thus, for a second time, this self-taught general obtained a compleat victory over the boasted discipline of the French arms ; and a second time had the good fortune to make the commander in chief his prisoner. But this was his least praise. Though eleven hundred Indians followed him to the field, he restrained them within regular bounds, and their example demonstrably proved, that the excesses which the other savages had been guilty of against the English, had been prompted and directed by the French. It must not be omitted, to the honour of this gentleman, that though he was not regularly bred a soldier, the most compleat officer could not have made more excellent dispositions for the battle, or have

conducted the siege, from the beginning to the end, with a more cool and steady resolution, or with a more compleat knowledge of all the necessary manœuvres of war. The taking of Niagara broke off effectually the communication so much talked of, and so much dreaded, between Canada and Louisiana; and by this stroke, one of the capital political designs of the French, which occasioned the war, was defeated in its direct and immediate object\*.

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\* Niagara is, without exception, the most important post in America, and secures a greater number of communications, through a more extensive country, than perhaps any other pass in the world; for it is situated at the very entrance of a streight by which the Lake Ontario is joined to that of Erie, which is connected with the other three great lakes by the course of the vast river St. Lawrence, which runs through them all, and carries off their superfluous waters to the ocean. A little above the fort is the Cataract of Niagara, the most remarkable in the world, for the quantity of water and the greatness of the fall; the perpendicular fall of the water being exactly one hundred and thirty-seven feet. This fall would interrupt the commerce between the two lakes, but for a road made by the French up the hilly country that lies by the streight; so that, after travelling about eight miles, persons may reembark, and proceed, without further interruption, to the Lake Erie.

Those who travel by land are also obliged to cross the streight; the lakes being so disposed, that without an hazardous voyage the Indians cannot otherwise pass from the north-west to the south-east parts of North-America, for many hundred miles. The fort of Niagara thus naturally commands the Six Nations, and all those Indian tribes that lie to the northward of the lakes, as well as those that are scattered along the banks of the  
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However desirable the reduction of Niagara and Crown-Point might be to the colonies, the conquest of Quebec was of still greater importance, and the attempt far more dangerous. Few enterprizes were ever attended with more difficulties, or conducted with greater caution, prudence, and intrepidity. The fleet destined for this expedition, sailed from England in the middle of February, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, who had both given evident proofs of their conduct and courage in the service of their country. By the 21st of April they were in sight of the island of Cape Breton; but the harbour of Louis-

Ohio, Ouabache, and Mississippi, and, according as it was possessed by the French or English, connected or disjointed Canada and Louisiana.

From the time the French were acquainted with this place, they were fully sensible of its importance, both with respect to trade and dominion. They made several attempts to establish themselves here; but the Indians constantly opposed it, and obliged them to relinquish a fort which they had built; and guarded this spot, for a long time, with a very severe and prudent jealousy.

But whilst we neglected to cultivate the love of the Indians, the French omitted no endeavours to gain these savages to their interest; and prevailed at last, under the name of a trading-house, to erect a strong fort at the mouth of the streight. A French officer, of an enterprizing genius, had been a prisoner among the Iroquois a long time; and, according to their custom, having been naturalized, grew very popular amongst them, and at last regained his liberty. He communicated to the then governor of Canada a plan for an establishment at Niagara, and undertook to execute it himself. He returned among the Iro-



Louisbourg was blocked up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova-Scotia. From hence rear-admiral Durell was sent with a small squadron up the river St. Laurence, as far as the Isle de Coudres, in order to intercept any supplies that might be sent from France to Quebec. He took three small ships, besides some small craft, laden with flour and other provisions; but had the mortification to find, that the frigates, and the transports, loaded with provisions, had already reached that city; and having taken possession of the Island de Coudres, proceeded to the Isle of Orleans. Meanwhile, admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg; and the troops being embarked, which

quois, and pretending great love for their nation, which was now his own, told them, he would gladly visit his brethren frequently; but it was proper for that purpose, that they should allow him to build himself an house, where he might live according to his own manner; at the same time, proposing to them advantages in trade for this establishment. His request was easily granted. The house was built, and by degrees extended and strengthened by various additions, and at last became a regular fortress, which had ever since awed the Six Nations, and checked our colonies.

As to those immense lakes, which are all in a manner commanded by this fort, the reader need only cast his eyes on the map of North-America to be convinced of their importance. They afford by far the most extensive inland navigation in the whole universe. Whoever is master of them, must sooner or later command that whole continent. They are all surrounded by a fine fruitful country, in a temperate pleasant climate. The day may possibly come when this noble country, which seems calculated for universal empire, will sufficiently display its own importance.

which did not exceed seven thousand men, regulars and provincials, though the original plan intended nine thousand for this expedition, exclusive of those under general Amherst, (whose assistance on the occasion was taken for granted) proceeded up the river St. Laurence without further delay. The land-forces were commanded by major-general Wolfe, whose military abilities had shone with such superior lustre at the siege of Louisbourg; and under him were the brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray.

The whole embarkation arrived in the latter end of June at the Isle of Orleans, about two leagues below Quebec, a large fertile island, about twenty miles in length, and between seven and eight in breadth, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, and populous, without any accident whatever, notwithstanding the reports of the dangerous navigation of the river St. Laurence, probably spread for political purposes. This island extends almost quite up to the basin of Quebec, its most westerly point advancing towards an high point of land on the continent, called Point Levi. These two points shut up the view of the northern and southern channels, which environ the Isle of Orleans; so that the harbour of Quebec appears to be a basin land-locked upon all sides. The possession of both these points was therefore absolutely necessary, as they might be employed either with great advantage against the  
town,

town, or much to the annoyance of the besiegers; for whilst the enemy continued masters of those, it was impossible for a ship to lie with safety in the harbour of Quebec. General Wolfe no sooner landed on this island than he distributed a manifesto among the inhabitants importing, That the king his master, justly exasperated against France, had set on foot a considerable armament by land and sea, to humble the pride of that crown, and was determined to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America. He declared, it was not against the industrious peasants and their families, nor against the ministers of religion, that he designed to make war: on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they must be exposed by the quarrel, offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns, directly or indirectly. He observed, that the English being now masters of the river St. Laurence, all succours from Europe must be intercepted; and that they had besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general Amherst. He affirmed, that the resolution the Canadians ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful; as the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless, and only serve to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the

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the French on the subjects of Great-Britain in America, would excuse the most severe reprisals ; but Englishmen were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered them the sweets of peace, amidst the horrors of war, and left it to themselves to determine their own fate. But whatever resolution they might take, he flattered himself the world would do justice to his conduct, which should be regulated by the strictest rules of justice. He concluded with laying before them, the strength and power as well as generosity of England, which thus humanely stretched out her hand to them ; a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France, by her weakness, incapable of assisting, abandoned them in the most critical moment.

This humane manifesto produced no effect ; the Canadians thought they could place no dependance on the promises and sincerity of a nation, whom their priests had industriously represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed with these notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves, and their families, to certain ruin, by provoking the English with the most cruel hostilities, rather than remain quiet, and confide on the general's promise of protection. Instead of such a prudent conduct, the Canadians joined the scalping parties of Indians, who skulked among the woods, and falling on the English stragglers by surprize, murdered them

them with the most inhuman barbarity ; so that Wolfe, whose generous nature revolted against such wanton and perfidious cruelty, after having in vain expostulated on this head with the French general, was obliged to connive at some retaliations, in order to intimidate the enemy, and effect by punishment, what the lenient hand of kindness had attempted in vain.

The conduct of Montcalm, the French commander in chief, did honour to his judgment ; though his army was greatly superior to that of the English, he carefully avoided an engagement, and prudently resolved to depend on the natural strength of the country, which seemed almost unsurmountable. The city of Quebec was strongly fortified, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition. The troops of the colony were reinforced with five regular battalions, formed of the principal inhabitants ; all the Canadians in the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of Indians, were completely disciplined ; and with this army Montcalm took the field, and incamped in a very advantageous situation, along the shore of Beaufort, between the river St. Charles, and a bank of sand of great extent, which prevents any considerable vessel from approaching the shore, in his front, and thick impenetrable woods on his rear. There never was a stronger post ; it was impossible to attack him in it, and whilst he  
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remained there it was in his power to throw succours into the city whenever he pleased.

Wolfe saw all the difficulties that must attend his undertaking the siege of Quebec, almost inaccessible by its situation, and defended by a superior army; but he knew at the same time, that he should always have it in his power to retreat, while the English squadron maintained its station in the river; nor was he without hopes of being joined by general Amherst. Receiving advice, that a detachment of the enemy, with a train of artillery, was posted at Point Levi, on the south shore, opposite the city of Quebec, he determined to dislodge them before they had intrenched themselves. Accordingly he detached brigadier Monckton with four battalions, who passed the river in the night; and next morning, after a slight skirmish with some of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to quit that post, which was immediately occupied by the English \*. At the same time

\* Mons. Montcalm foresaw the great advantages that would result to us over their capital, from being possessed of Point Levi; and proposed, before the English armament came up the river, that four thousand men should be strongly entrenched here, with some cannon, and that other works should also be constructed higher up the country, at certain distances, for the troops to retire to, in case their lines should be carried at the Point. But Mons. Vaudreuil over-ruled this proposal in a council of war, and insisted, that though we might demolish a few insignificant houses with shells, yet we could not bring



time colonel Carleton, with another detachment, took possession of the western point of the Isle of Orleans, and both posts were directly fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, as has been already observed, if they had kept possession of either, might have rendered it impossible for ships to lie at anchor within two miles of the city. Besides, Point Levi was within cannon-shot of the city; a battery of cannon and mortars was of course immediately erected there. Montcalm, foreseeing the effect of this battery, detached a body of sixteen hundred men cross the river, to attack and destroy the works before they were compleated: but the attempt miscarried. The battery being finished without further interruption, a continual fire was kept up against the city with such success, that in a little time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower town reduced to an heap of rubbish. In the mean while the fleet, one division of which, under admiral Saunders, was stationed below in the north channel of the Isle of Orleans, opposite to Montmorenci; the other under admiral Holmes, above the town, at once to divert the enemy's attention, and to prevent any attempts against the batteries that played against Quebec, suffered great damage from a storm, which blew with such violence, that many of the transports ran foul of

bring cannon to bear upon Quebec a-cross the river; and was firmly of opinion, that it was their duty to stand upon the defensive, with their whole army on the north side of the basin, and not divide their force on any account whatsoever.

one another and were driven on shore, a number of small craft and boats foundered, several of the flat-bottomed boats were rendered unfit for farther service, and divers large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, in order to take advantage of the confusion which they supposed this disaster must have occasioned, at midnight, sent down five fire ships and two rafts to destroy the fleet. The scheme, though well contrived, was happily defeated by the prudence of the English admiral, and the resolution and alertness of the sailors, who resolutely towed the fire ships and rafts fast aground, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without doing the least damage to the English squadron. A second attempt of this kind was made on the very same day of the succeeding month, which proving equally ineffectual, the French general thought proper to lay aside his design.

As soon as the works for securing the hospital and stores were finished, the English forces crossed the river St. Laurence in boats, and landing under the cover of two sloops, encamped on the side of the river Montmorenci with a view of passing that river, and bringing the enemy to an engagement. The next morning a party of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some fascine makers, were attacked by the French Indians, and defeated; but the nearest troops advancing, the enemy were in their turn repulsed with considerable loss. The reasons that induced general Wolfe to choose this situation by the falls of Montmorenci, in which he



he was separated from Quebec by this and another river named St. Charles, were, that the ground which he had chosen was high, and in some measure commanded the opposite side where the enemy was posted: that there was a ford below the falls passable every tide for some hours at the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood; and he was in hopes that means might be found to pass the river higher up, so as to fight Mons. Montcalm on less disadvantageous terms than directly attacking his intrenchments. Accordingly, on reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, a ford was discovered about three miles above; but the opposite bank, which was naturally steep and covered with woods, was rendered so strong by intrenchments, as to be almost inaccessible. The escorte was twice attacked by the French Indians, who were both times repulsed; these skirmishes cost the English about forty men killed and wounded, including officers. Wolfe therefore deferred his intended attack on the French army, till he had surveyed the river St. Laurence above Quebec, in hopes of discovering a place more favourable for a descent.

Accordingly, the admiral, at his request, on the 18th of July, sent two men of war, two sloops, and some transports, with troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebec, without sustaining the least damage. The general being himself on board this little armament,

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carefully observed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from the nature of the ground, and the works of the enemy. Though a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, general Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force, and procure intelligence, sent a detachment, under colonel Carleton, to land higher up at Point au Tremble, where he had been informed a good number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss, though the colonel at landing met with some opposition from a body of Indians: several prisoners were brought off, but no magazine was discovered.

The general, thus disappointed in his expectations, returned to Montmorenci, where Brigadier Townshend had, by maintaining a superior fire across the river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the English camp; and now resolved to attack the French army, though posted to great advantage.

As the men of war, for want of a sufficient depth of water, could not come near enough to the enemy's entrenchments, to annoy them in the least, the admiral prepared two flat bottomed armed vessels, which might on occasion be run aground to favour a descent. With the assistance

of these vessels, Wolfe proposed to make himself master of a detached redoubt near the water edge, situated, according to all appearance, out of musquet shot of the enemy's entrenchments on the hill. If the French supported this work it must necessarily bring on an engagement, a circumstance which he earnestly wished for; and if they tamely beheld its reduction, he would have it in his power to examine their situation at leisure, so as to be able to determine where they might be attacked with the greatest prospect of success. Preparations were accordingly made for the attack; on the last day of July, in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade from Point Levi. The two brigades under Brigadiers Townshend and Murray were drawn out, in order to be ready to pass the ford, when judged necessary. To facilitate their passage, the admiral stationed the Centurion, of fifty-four guns, in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford: a numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to enfilade the left of the enemy's entrenchments; and the two armed vessels prepared for this purpose were ran aground near the redoubt, to favour the descent of the forces. The manifest confusion produced among the enemy by these previous measures, and the fire of the Centurion, which was well directed and sustained, determined the general

neral to storm this intrenchment without further delay.

At a proper time of tide the signal was made ; but in rowing towards the shore, many of the boats from Point Levi ran aground upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance from the shore ; and this accident occasioned so much time to be lost in remedying the disorder, that Wolfe was obliged to stop the march of brigadier Townshend's corps, which he perceived to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats were floated and ranged in proper order, though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells ; and the general in person, assisted by several sea officers, founding the shore, pointed out the place where the troops might land with the least difficulty. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the second Royal American battalion, were the first on shore, and obliged the enemy to abandon the redoubt below the precipice. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, and begin the attack, supported by brigadier Monckton's corps, as soon as the other troops should have passed the ford, and be near enough to contribute their assistance. But unfortunately the grenadiers, impatient to acquire glory, without waiting for any reinforcement, or forming themselves as directed, in great confusion ran up the hill, and made many efforts to gain the summit, which they found less practicable than had been expected : in this situation they received a general discharge of musquetry



from the enemy's breast works, which was continued without any return; our brave soldiers reserving their fire, until they should reach the top of the precipice, which was inconceivably steep: to persevere any longer they now found was to little purpose, their ardour was checked by the repeated heavy fire of the enemy, which did such execution among them, that at length they were obliged to retire in disorder, and shelter themselves under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. The general seeing the situation of affairs, night drawing on, and the ammunition of the army damaged by a most dreadful storm, ordered them to retreat and form behind Monckton's brigade, which was by this time landed and drawn up upon the beach, in good order. They accordingly retreated, leaving a considerable number lying on the field exposed to the barbarity of the Indians. The enemy did not attempt to pursue; so the whole repassed the river without molestation, and returned to their former camp at Montmorenci.

The two armed vessels, which were aground, were burnt to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. The loss of our forces this day, killed, wounded, and missing, including all ranks, amounted to four hundred and forty-three, among whom were two captains and two lieutenants killed on the spot; colonel Burton of the forty-eighth regiment, six captains, nineteen lieutenants, and three ensigns wounded.

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The general, immediately after this mortifying check, detached brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men, in transports, above the town, to co-operate with admiral Holmes, whom admiral Saunders had sent up the river, to destroy the French ships if possible. The brigadier was also instructed to seize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments. In pursuance of these directions, he twice attempted to land on the north shore; but these attempts were unsuccessful: his third effort was more fortunate; he made a descent at Chambaud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, provision, and ammunition. By the prisoners he learned that Fort Niagara had surrendered; and discovered by intercepted letters, that the enemy having abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point, were retired to Isle au Noix; and that general Amherst was making preparations to pass Lake Champlain, and attack the corps commanded by Monsi. Bourlemaque. The enemy's ships being secured in such a manner as not to be approached, and nothing else occurring that required the brigadier's longer stay, he returned to the camp at Point Levi.

But this intelligence, otherwise so pleasing, brought no prospect of any assistance from that quarter. The season wasted apace. The general fell violently ill, from care, watching, and fatigue, too great to be supported by a delicate constitution, and a body unequal to the vigorous and enterpriz-

ing soul that it lodged. His own high notions, the public expectation, the success of other commanders, oppressed his spirits, and converted disappointment into disease. During his illness he desired the general officers to consult together for the public utility; and it was their opinion that any farther attempts at Montmorenci were to little purpose; and that the points Levi and Orleans being left in a proper state of defence, the rest of the troops should be conveyed up the river, and the future principal operations should be above the town, in order, if possible, to draw the enemy to an action. This measure, however, was not adopted until the general and admiral, assisted by the principal engineer, had reconnoitred the town of Quebec with a view to a general assault. But after a careful survey, it was unanimously agreed that such an attack was impracticable: for though the men of war might have silenced the batteries of the lower town, they could not affect the upper works, from which they must have sustained considerable damage. The camp at Montmorenci was therefore broke up, and the troops encamped at Point Levi. The squadron under admiral Holmes made movements up the river for several days successively, in order to amuse the enemy posted on the north shore.

On the 5th and 6th of September, the general embarked the forces; but the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather bad, one half of  
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the troops were landed for refreshment on the south shore. As soon as matters were ripe for action, he directed admiral Saunders to make a feint with his squadron, as if he proposed to attack the French in their entrenchments on the Beauport shore, below the town, and by his motions to give this feint all the appearance of reality possible. This disposition being made below the town, Wolfe embarked his forces about one in the morning, and admiral Holmes's division sailed three leagues further up the river than the place where he intended to land, in order to conceal his real design. He then embarked the troops, and fell down silently with the tide; but by the rapidity of the current, and the darkness of the night, the boats were carried a little below the intended place of attack. The ships followed them, and arriving just at the time that had been concerted, to cover their landing, the troops were disembarked without loss, or indeed the knowledge of the enemy.

This remarkable success was, in some measure, owing to the following accident: two French deserters had been carried the evening before on board the English fleet, and from them the general learned, that the garrison expected that night to receive a convoy of provisions in boats, from the detachment above the town, commanded by Mons. Bougainville. The knowledge of this circumstance was of the utmost consequence, and tended to deceive the centinels posted along shore to challenge boats and vessels, and give an alarm, if necessary.

The first English boat being questioned accordingly, captain Donald M'Donald, of Frazer's Highland regiment, who was perfectly acquainted with the French language, answered without hesitation, to their challenging word, *Qui va la ?* (Who is there) *La France*. When the centinel asked, *Au quel regiment ?* (To what regiment do you belong ?) The captain replied, *De la Reine*, (To the queen's) which he accidentally knew to be one of those that were under the command of Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted that this was the expected convoy, and allowed the boats to proceed, without further interruption. The other centries were deceived in the same manner; though one more wary than the rest, ran down to the water's edge, and called, *Pour quoi ne parlez vous plus haut ?* (Why don't you speak with an audible voice ?) To this question, which implied doubt, the captain answered with admirable presence of mind, in a low voice, *Tais toi, nous serons entendues*, (Hush ! we shall be overheard, and discovered). Thus cautioned, the centinel retired without farther altercation.

As the troops could not be landed at the place intended, when they gained the shore, an high precipice appeared before them, extremely steep, and almost perpendicular. A little path winded up this ascent, so narrow that two persons could not go a-breast; and even this path, by which alone the forces could possibly reach the summit, was strongly intrenched, and defended by a captain's guard. Such great difficulties did not abate the hopes of  
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the general, or the ardour of the troops. Colonel Howe's light infantry, laying hold of stumps and boughs of trees, pulled themselves up, dislodged the enemy, and cleared the path; then gained the top of the hill, without further interruption, and as fast as they ascended formed themselves; so that the whole army was in order of battle by day-break.

Montcalm, when the news was brought him, could scarcely credit the report; but still believed it to be a feint, to induce him to abandon that strong post, which had been the object of all the real attempts that had been made since the beginning of the siege. But no sooner was he undeceived, and found that the English army had really gained the Heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town of Quebec on its weakest part, than he determined to risk a battle; and accordingly quitted his intrenched camp, and having collected his whole force from the side of Beauport, marched towards the English army, without delay.

General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray. Colonel Howe, who was just returned with his light infantry from taking a four-gun battery, was posted in the rear of the left. M. de Montcalm advancing in such a manner as shewed his intention was to flank the left of the English, brigadier  
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dier Townshend was ordered thither with Amherst's regiment, which he formed *en potence*, presenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards reinforced with two battalions, and the reserve, consisting of one regiment, formed in eight subdivisions, with large intervals, was posted behind the right. The right wing of the enemy was composed of half their colony troops, two battalions of regulars, and a body of Canadians and savages: their center consisted of a column formed by two other regular battalions; and their left of one battalion, with the rest of the colony troops: the bushes and corn-fields in their front were lined with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus singled out for destruction. This fire was indeed in some measure checked by the advanced posts of the English line, who picqueered with the enemy for some hours before the battle began. Both armies were almost entirely destitute of artillery; the French having only two pieces, and the English two six-pounders, which the seamen had with great difficulty drawn up from the landing-place; but these were extremely well served, and galled their column severely, obliging them to alter their disposition.

About ten in the morning the enemy advanced briskly to the charge in three columns, two of them inclining towards the left of our army, and the third to our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities

termities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty yards, until they came within forty yards, which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, reserving their fire. This uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made amongst them, threw them into some disorder. The English, who had been ordered to load with double ball, now poured in a terrible discharge, and continued their fire with such deliberation and spirit, that the enemy immediately gave way, and fled with precipitation. General Wolfe himself was stationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg grenadiers, where the attack was warmest, and standing conspicuous, in the very front of the line, had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and at last received a shot in the wrist, which did not oblige him, however, to quit the field. Having wrapped an handkerchief round his arm, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero \*, just as the enemy gave way,

\* When the general was carried off wounded to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down; being asked if he would have a surgeon? he replied, "It is needless, it is all over with me." An officer present cried out, "They run, see how they run." "Who run!" demanded our hero, with great earnestness, like a person roused from sleep? The officer answered, "The enemy, Sir, egad, they

way, and victory was crowning all his labours with success. General Monckton, the next in command, fell immediately after, and was conveyed out of the line. While the right and center of the front line pressed on with their bayonets, the Highlanders with their broad-swords, supported by the 58th regiment, fell on the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them with great slaughter into the town, and the works they had raised at the bridge, over the river St. Charles. The action was less violent on the left and rear of the English. Some of the light-infantry had thrown themselves into houses, where being attacked, they defended themselves with great courage and resolution, being supported by colonel Howe, who taking post with two companies behind a small copse, and frequently sallying out on the flanks of the enemy during their attack, often drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townshend advanced platoons against their front; so that the right wing of the French was totally prevented from executing their first intention. The brigadier himself remained with Amherst's regiment, to support this disposition, and over-awe a body of Indians posted opposite the light-infantry,

they give way every where." Whereupon the general rejoined, "What do the cowards run already? Go one of you, my lads, to colonel Burton—tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed, down to Charles River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." Then turning on his side, he added, "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace;" and thus expired.

waiting



waiting for an opportunity to fall on the rear of the English army.

General Wolfe being slain, and general Monckton dangerously wounded, the command of course devolved on general Townshend, who, upon this information, hastened to the center, and formed the troops again, that were somewhat disordered in the pursuit, with all possible expedition. He had scarce performed this necessary duty, before Mons. Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh men, appeared in the rear of the English army. He had marched from Cape Rouge the moment he received advice that the English troops had gained the Heights of Abraham ; but did not arrive time enough to have any share in the action.

General Townshend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer ; but he retiring among the woods and swamps, the general prudently declined pursuing. He had already gained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was in possession of a very advantageous situation, which it would have been highly imprudent to hazard for the sake of defeating Bougainville's detachment. Mons. de Montcalm was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed to a convent of Augustine nuns, about a mile from Quebec ; from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to general Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that generous humanity which distinguishes the  
British

British nation. *Monf. de Senefergue*, and *Monf. de St. Ours*, the two next in command, were also slain. About a thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers; and about eight hundred were killed in the action. The shattered remains of their army, after having reinforced the garrison of Quebec, retired to *Point-au-Tremble*, from whence they continued their retreat to *Jacques Quartier*, where they remained intrenched till the severity of the weather forced them to make the best of their way to *Trois Rivieres* and *Montreal*.

This important victory, though gained at the expence of only sixty-one men killed, including nine officers; and of five-hundred and ninety-eight wounded, was dearly bought. The death of general *Wolfe* was a national loss, and universally lamented: soldiers may be raised, officers will be formed by experience, but the loss of a genius in war is not easily repaired. By nature formed for military greatness, his memory was retentive, his judgment deep, and his comprehension surprisingly quick, clear, and extensive; his constitutional courage not only uniform and daring, perhaps to an extreme, but he possessed also that higher species of it, a strength, steadiness and activity of mind, which no difficulties or dangers could deter. Generous, gentle, friendly, affable, and humane, he was the pattern of the officer, and the darling of the soldier; his sublime genius soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised

exercised to their full extent, by opportunities and action, and his judgment been fully ripened by age and experience, he would have rivalled the most celebrated heroes of antiquity.

General Townshend employed his time, from the day of action, in securing his camp with redoubts ; in making a road up the precipice for his cannon, in getting up the artillery, in preparing batteries, and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. And admiral Saunders, who had all along co-operated heartily with the land forces for the advantage of the service, on the seventeenth day of the month sailed up with his whole fleet, in a disposition to attack the lower town, while the upper part should be assaulted by the general. But at noon, the same day, before any battery was finished, a flag of truce was sent from the town, with proposals of capitulation, which, after mature consideration, were accepted and signed, by the general and admiral, the next morning. By these articles it was agreed, that the garrison of the town should march out with all the honours of war, and be embarked for France as conveniently as possible : that the inhabitants should lay down their arms, and be maintained in the possession of their houses, goods, effects, and privileges ; nor should be molested on account of their having bore arms in defence of the town, as they had been forced to it, and it was customary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to serve as militia : that the effects belonging to absent officers should not be



be touched : that the said inhabitants should not be removed, nor compelled to quit their houses, until their condition should be settled by a treaty of peace between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties : that the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion should be permitted ; and safeguards granted to all religious houses and persons, as well as to the bishop, who should be at liberty to exercise freely, and with decency, all the functions of his office wherever he should think proper, till the possession of Canada should be determined between their Britannic and most Christian majesties : that the artillery and warlike stores should be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof : that the sick, wounded, commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, and other persons employed in the hospitals, should be treated according to the cartel settled between the belligerent powers on the sixth day of February, 1759 : that before delivering up the gate and entrance of the town to the English forces, their general should send some soldiers to be placed as safe-guards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations : that the governor of the city should be permitted to send advice to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor general, of the reduction of the town ; and also to be allowed to write to the French ministry to inform them thereof : and, lastly, that the present capitulation should be duly and punctually executed, without being liable to non-execution, under pretence of reprisals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation.

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Thus the capital of the French America was surrendered to the English upon honourable and advantageous terms, after a most severe campaign of three months ; and perhaps if the whole be considered, there never was an enterprize of such difficulty carried on with more gallant perseverance, or accomplished with more vigour and ability. A city, strong in its situation and fortifications, was to be attacked ; an army, greatly superior to the besiegers, was posted near the walls of the city in an impregnable situation ; and that army was to be forced to battle, against the inclinations of a wise, cautious commander. A theatre of more than five leagues was to be filled, and operations of that extent were to be carried on, in the face of the superior army, by fewer than seven thousand men. In this contest, attended with so many difficulties, it may be said with justice, the natural genius of the commander shewed itself superior to every thing. All the dispositions to that daring but judicious attempt near Sillery, which at last drew Montcalm from his entrenchments, were so many master-pieces in the art of war. Yet notwithstanding the extraordinary abilities of the general, these things could never have been accomplished had not the marine co-operated with an unanimity, diligence, activity, and skill, which never could have taken place but from that perfect love to their country, which animated all concerned in the expedition.

Several circumstances concurred to induce the general to grant such advantageous terms : the ene-

my were assembling in the rear of the English army, the season was become wet, stormy, and cold, threatening the troops with sickness, and the fleet with accidents ; and besides, he considered the advantage that would result from taking possession of the city while the walls were in a state of defence. Indeed the capitulation was a fortunate stroke for the English general, who afterwards received information from deserters, that the enemy had rallied, and were reinforced behind Cape Rouse, under Monsieur de Levy, arrived from Montreal for that purpose, with two battalions of regulars ; and that Monsieur de Bougainville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of provisions, was on his march to throw himself into the town on the eighteenth, the very morning on which it was surrendered : for the place was not then compleatly invested, as the enemy had broke down their bridge of boats, and posted detachments in very strong works on the other side of the river St. Charles.

As soon as the capitulation was ratified, the English troops took possession of Quebec on the land side, and guards were posted in different parts of the town to preserve order and discipline ; at the same time captain Palliser, with a body of seamen, entered the lower town, and took the same precautions. The next day the prisoners, who were about a thousand in number, were embarked on board transports for France : in the mean time, the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers to deliver up their arms, and take the oath of fidelity



fidelity to the English government; and a garrison of seven thousand men was placed in the city, under brigadier-general Murray, with plenty of provisions and ammunition. Soon after, the fleet set sail for England; fearing lest the setting in of the frost should lock them up in the river St. Laurence during the whole winter.

The death of general Montcalm, which was doubtless an irreparable loss to France, in all probability, overwhelmed the enemy with consternation, and confounded all their councils; as we cannot otherwise account for the tame surrender of Quebec, while the garrison had still a communication with their army, to an handful of troops, even after the victory they had gained; for though the place was not regularly fortified on the land side, and most of the houses were in ruins, yet the walls and parapets had not sustained the least damage: the besiegers were hardly sufficient to invest it entirely; a fresh army was assembled in the neighbourhood, with which their communication continued open; and the season was so far advanced, that the English forces must soon have been obliged to desist by the severity of the weather, and even retire, with their fleet, before the approach of winter, which always freezes up the river St. Laurence.

The city of Quebec \* consists of two towns, distinguished by the High and Low Town: they are separated

\* Derived from *kep beis*, an old Algonquin expression, which signifies *what is freight*, according to the French historians,

separated from each other by a steep cliff, which is a natural fortification to near two-thirds of the Upper Town, at the same time that it serves for a shelter to the Lower Town from the keen, penetrating, north-west winds. The buildings were in general very good, until destroyed by our artillery during the siege ; and consisted, besides dwelling-houses, of several churches, colleges, convents, and other public edifices, which in this city, as well as in the rest of Canada, are built of a durable greyish stone, whereof there is great plenty in this province. The streets of the Higher Town are broad, but uneven, running upon a declivity from the south, where they are highest, to the north. Those of the Lower Town are narrow, standing on a confined spot of ground, which is commonly overflowed by the tide to the foot of the precipice, and, by the retiring of the waters, pointed out a place at the head of a spacious and most delightful basin, commodious in all respects for merchants to build on and inhabit for the convenience of trade, the tide rising here eighteen feet and an half. The principal public buildings were, the cathedral, of which only the walls remain ; the bishop's palace ; the colleges of the Jesuits and Recollects ; the convents of the Ursulines, and Hotel de Dieu, with their churches ; a

advance, that the Aborigines first expressed themselves to that effect, with admiration, upon their first discovering the strait, formed in that part by Cape Diamond, and some eminencies jutting into the river from the south shore.

seminary

seminary for the education of youth, almost beat to pieces, with a neat chapel adjoining; a stately unfinished house, for the Knights Hospitallers; the intendant's magnificent palace, in the suburbs of St. Roch; and the church of Notre Dame de la Victoire, in the Low Town, of which the walls only are standing\*. According to report, there was a fine painting in this church, representing a town in flames, with this inscription, "That in the year 1711, when this capital was threatened with a siege by Walker and Hill, one of their pious women, pretending to be inspired, prognosticated, that this church, and the Lower Town, would be destroyed by the English in a conflagration, before the year of our Lord 1760; which made so great an impression on all ranks of people, that they dedicated two days every year to fasting and worship, and implored the intercession of their patroness with the Almighty, to protect that church and city from fire and sword." In the corner-houses of the streets are niches in the walls, with statues as large as the life, of St. Joseph, St. Ursula, St. Augustine, and other saints, with the like figures in the fronts of their churches and religious houses, which have an agreeable effect to the eyes of passengers. The citadel, the residence of the governor, situated on the grand parade, a spacious square, surrounded with fair buildings, is curiously

\* This church was built to commemorate the raising the siege of this city, when attacked by Sir William Phips, in 1694, who was obliged to retire with considerable loss.





though it has not yet come, when I shall bite him who has bit me."

The first proprietor of this house was possessed of a plentiful fortune, which he, after many disappointments and losses in trade, had scraped together with the most indefatigable industry. Whether the foregoing device alluded to these particulars of his own private life; or whether the bone meant Canada, and the dog, the emblem of fidelity, the French settled there, as if determined faithfully to defend that colony against the savage natives, or the English, who may perhaps be alluded to by the two last lines of the inscription, is submitted to the more penetrating capacity of the curious reader.

The custom-house is also in the Low Town, where the collector is splendidly lodged, and, by its particular situation, is the only house in that quarter, which escaped being damaged by our shells during the siege.

The general hospital stands near a mile distant from the town, on the W. N. W. side, and is a stately building; it is agreeably situated on the south side of the river Charles, which meanders under its walls, and consists of a spacious dome, with two great wings, one fronting the north, the other the south. In this house is a convent of Augustine nuns, who have lands appropriated for their maintenance: these sisters, from religious motives, have assigned the principal parts of this dwelling for the reception of sick and wounded officers and sol-

diers, whom they attend with the greatest humanity and tenderness. This hospital was endowed by the French king with a handsome salary, for the supporting of a physician, surgeon, and other necessary officers. The nuns perform every menial office about the sick, with the same indifference that one man would attend another ; making it a point of conscience so to do. Each patient has his bed, with curtains, allotted to him, and a nun to attend him. The beds are ranged in galleries on each side, with a sufficient space between each for a person to pass : these galleries are scraped and swept every morning, and afterwards sprinkled with vinegar ; so that strangers are not sensible of the least unfavoury scent in summer. The patients are allowed a kind of fan, to cool themselves in sultry weather, or to keep off the gnats, which at that season, by reason of the vicinity of some marshes, and the river Charles, are very troublesome. Every officer has an apartment to himself. The nuns are courteous, rigidly reserved, and very respectful : their dress consists of a black gown, with a bib and apron ; a close cap on their head, with a forehead-cloth down to their eyebrows ; their breasts entirely covered ; their sleeves are made so long as to reach almost to their wrists ; their cloaths sweep the ground ; on the top of the head is pinned a square piece of black shalloon, which serves as a cloak, flowing carelessly over their shoulders, below their waist : they wear a silver crucifix about three inches long, which hangs by a black ribbon from the neck to the girdle, and makes a very decent, grave appearance. In  
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the south wing of the edifice is a superb church, and in the other wing a neat chapel ; in both are several images and Scripture paintings, as large as life : that of St. Peter, in an attitude of contrition for having denied his Master, is the best, and is truly expressive. The altar of the church is sumptuously gilded, with a tolerable painting behind it. Over it is a large clumsy representation of God, carved in wood, with a long grey beard, and flaxen hair, cloathed in white, and surrounded with angels ; in his right hand is a globe, his left points ungracefully to something invisible to the spectator. The altar-cloths and hangings are of curious needle-work, wrought on silk in different colours, by the nuns. The walls are wainscotted with oak to half their height ; and the pannels painted in dark shaded landscapes, representing the adjacent country. On the south side of the chancel is a pair of large, folding, grated doors, before which the nuns sit on benches one above another, as in the theatre, to attend divine service. To the west of them are two confessional boxes ; and over the west door a very neat gallery for music, to which they ascend by a pair of stairs, on the right and left of the entrance. On the north side of the church is a saloon, with a curious monument, and an altar over it, elegantly arched, and ornamented with small figures of wax, personating our Saviour and the Virgin Mary ; on each side are two images, one of St. Augustine, the patron of this order, which is a venerable figure, cloathed in purple and white, bare-

bareheaded, and a long grey beard, with a flaming heart in his right hand, which seems to engross his attention, and a small book in his left. The other represents St. Charles, archbishop of Milan, who liberally endowed this church and hospital: he stands upright, with his hands across, and an open book laid upon them, which he seems to read very attentively; his silver hair flows down his shoulders, and he is dressed in scarlet and white.

This monument is erected in memory of John, second bishop of Canada, the principal founder of this charity, whose epitaph, perhaps, may not be unacceptable to the inquisitive reader; we shall therefore give a faithful translation of it.

*EPITAPH of the most illustrious, and most reverend Father in God, messire\* John Baptist de la Croix, chevalier de St. Vallier, second bishop of Quebec, founder of this house.*

Grenoble was the place of his high birth,  
 His piety was in his infancy early conspicuous:  
 Engaged in the church, almoner to the king,  
 His merit shone forth in that illustrious employ,  
 Whilst, by his hands, Lewis distributed his bounty.  
 His morals inspired the courtiers with wisdom:  
 His example moved many abbès of the court;  
 To him they owed their sincere return to God.  
 Far from being ambitious of court favours or titles,  
 He persevered in refusing a bishopric in France,  
 Whose mitre would have sat too light upon him;  
 Preferring that of Canada, on account of its severity.

\* A title of honour among the French, applied only to persons of quality.

This

This mitre was made for the head of a faint,  
 Who, for its sake, chose to encounter difficulties,  
 And came here, in spite of billows, winds, and monsters,  
 To acquire it in the country of the swarthy Americans,  
 Across hundreds of shelves of pointed rocks.  
 This mitre presented itself, and pleased his fancy :  
 The desire of suffering made him accept of it,  
 And he crossed the boisterous seas in order to wear it.  
 Like a brilliant star in the prime of life,  
 He was seen to land in this savage country :  
 He came here successor to the illustrious Laval,  
 Apparently the rival of all his virtues ;  
 He imitated his faith, his prudence, and zeal,  
 In many respects, perhaps, he exceeded his pattern.  
 His ability for establishing and maintaining good order,  
 Will serve for an example to future prelates.  
 His majestic air and venerable aspect ;  
 Every thing was great and respectable in him.  
 Bishop of a country he had made choice of,  
 He bore, according to his wish, the most weighty crosses.  
 He shewed on all occasions invincible courage,  
 And was insensible to all earthly disasters.  
 A prisoner with the English five years detained,  
 His virtue triumphed in his captivity.  
 In the greatest dangers a stranger to fear ;  
 His sole dread was that of infringing God's laws,  
 Of seeing them violated, of failing in his duty  
 Towards the flock, committed by Heaven to his care.  
 He loved his sheep dearer than his own life ;  
 And for them all had the tenderness of a father.  
 He omitted nothing for their increase in holiness.  
 He distributed amongst them more than a million of livres,  
 Amiable charity formed his character :  
 Sensibly feeling for the miseries of the poor,  
 He always relieved them, Heaven seconding his endeavours ;  
 Witness the three hospitals, which he himself founded.  
 His heart burning with the most ardent flame for God,  
 He lived and died employed in the conversion of souls ;  
And



And religion is indebted to him for the progress  
 It has made in this country these forty-three years.  
 These virgins, to whom he was the tenderest father,  
 Preserve, as a treasure, his most precious ashes.  
 These ashes maintain the heavenly ardours,  
 Kindled in their hearts by their holy founder ;  
 And, when distracted,  
 Their souls make this tomb resound with their lamentations ;  
 Groaning to think their father is no more : -  
 These ashes tell them, that he lives in his virtues ;  
 That he ought to be imitated ; and their most delightful study  
 Should be to demonstrate their gratitude, by following his  
 example :  
 That all he desired, in return for his bounties,  
 Was to see peace and holy fervour reign within this place.  
 Here reposes the model of holy prelates,  
 Whose uncommon piety was always matter of admiration.  
 By an hundred noble works he testified his zeal :  
 Three hospitals founded point out his great charity.  
 His genius, talents, and illustrious birth,  
 Must have procured him a bishopric in Old France.  
 His prince, who esteemed him, would have kept him there ;  
 But, contemning pomp and human grandeur,  
 Mindful how vain they would one day appear,  
 He came to Canada, to encounter hardships.  
 During forty-three years, the faith, through his means,  
 Has made in this country a marvellous progress.  
 His love, his reverence, towards the Supreme Being,  
 His care and extreme affection for his flock,  
 Will for ever render him worthy of our regret.  
 Ye virgins, whom dying he made his legatees,  
 And trustees of his heart and his ashes,  
 Preserve tenderly this precious treasure :  
 Though he bequeathed you no large revenues,  
 He left you a great example ;  
 Infinitely more valuable than silver or gold.

Here lies the most illustrious prelate John Baptist de la Croix de St. Vallier, &c. &c. of Grenoble, most nobly descended; first almoner to Lewis XIV. and afterwards second bishop of Canada: for piety and zeal, for souls, another Borromeo\*; for sweetness of manners, and mildness of his government, a second de Sales†: while he lived the father of the poor, he died in the arms of the poor, to whom he had devoted himself and his whole fortune. He desired to be laid in this hospital, founded by him with great trouble and expence. He breathed his last on the 28th of December 1727, in the seventy fifth year of his age, and forty-third of his episcopate. This monument was erected by the nuns of this religious house, in grateful remembrance of their most beloved father, and munificent founder.  
*May he rest in peace.*

In this saloon lie also the remains of general Montcalm, to whose memory, by permission of the English government, a monument was erected in 1761, with a Latin inscription, by the academy of Belles Lettres at Paris, of which the following lines are a faithful translation:

Here lieth,  
In either hemisphere to live for ever,  
Louis Joseph de Montcalm Gozon,  
Marquis of St. Veran, baron of Gabriac,

\* St. Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva, who was expelled that country by Calvin, the famous reformer.

† Called St. Charles, formerly archbishop of Milan.

Commandatory of the order of St. Louis,  
 Lieutenant-general of the armies of France;  
 Not less an excellent citizen than soldier,  
 Who knew no desire but that of true glory :  
 Happy in a natural genius, improved by literature,  
 Having gone through the several steps of military honours  
     With uninterrupted lustre,  
 Skilled in every branch of military science,  
 The juncture of times, and the crisis of dangers.  
     In Italy, in Bohemia, in Germany,  
         An indefatigable general ;  
 He so discharged his important trusts,  
 That he seemed always equal to still greater.  
     At length, grown bright with perils,  
     Sent to secure the province of Canada,  
         With an handful of men,  
 He more than once repulsed the enemy's forces,  
     And made himself master of their forts,  
     Replete with troops and ammunition.  
 Inured to cold, hunger, watchings, and labour,  
     Unmindful of himself,  
     He had no sensation but for his soldiers ;  
     An enemy with the fiercest impetuosity,  
     A victor with the tenderest humanity.  
 Adverse fortune he compensated with valour,  
 The want of strength with skill and activity ;  
     And with his counsel and support,  
 For four years, protracted the impending fate of the colony,  
     Having by various artifices,  
     Long baffled a great army,  
 Headed by an expert and intrepid commander,  
     And a fleet furnished with all warlike stores :  
     Compelled at length to an engagement,  
     He fell in the first rank, in the first onset,  
 With those hopes of religion which he had always cherished,  
     To the inexpressible loss of his own army,  
     And not without the regret of the enemy's,  
 XIV. September, A. D. MDCCLIX, of his age XLVIII.

His



His weeping countrymen  
Deposited the remains of their excellent general

In a grave

Which a fallen bomb, in burbling, had excavated for him,  
Recommending them to the generous faith of their enemies.

The chapel is small, and extremely neat, free from all superstitious pageantry. Within the chancel stands a table with a green cloth over it, as in the church of England; the walls are wainscotted, and with the rails of the chancel, seats, and a compact gallery for singers, are painted an olive colour. Here, as well as in the church, are lamps burning both by day and night, according to the Romish custom. But whatever deficiency, in point of ornament, may be in this chapel, is amply compensated in that of the Ursulines within the city, where no art has been spared to render it throughout as ostentatiously showy and captivating as possible. This convent is dedicated to St. Ursula, whose descent the nuns have traced to Scotland. She is said to have been killed by the Indians, while labouring for their conversion. In commemoration of this pious woman, and her martyrdom, her statue is erected against the wall of the edifice, with an arrow transfixed through her breast.

The Hotel de Dieu is a spacious fair building, with an attic story, and seems as if intended to be enlarged in the form of a square: at present it consists of two wings only, making a saliant angle. It was constructed, as appears by an inscription, in the year 1639, at the sole expence of Mary de Vignepot,

rot, dutchefs of Aiguillon, of whom there is a tolerable portrait on her knees, in a praying poffure. This houfe is dedicated to St. Jofeph, the patron of Canada. The fifters of this convent are in general elderly women, lefs polite and complaisant than in the other two nunneries, which may be attributed to their remarkable austeritiy. There is fuch a fame-  
nefs in all the churches and chapels of the different religious houfes, that a farther description of them feems unneceffary.

The principal ftrength of Quebec confifts in its lofty fituation: fhip-guns cannot have fufficient elevation to do it any confiderable damage, and it is too hazardous an undertaking for bomb-ketches to attempt to deftroy it, becaufe they muft be expofed to a furious fire from the feveral batteries erected above each other down to the water's edge; and any fhips brought againft it muft run up with the flood, ftand off and on until the tide of ebb, and then retire. For thefe and other obvious reafons, the immortal Wolfe poffeffed himfelf of Point Levi, on the fouth fide of the river, whence only he could have cannonaded the town with fuch fuccefs.

The communications between the Low and High Town, from their prodigious natural fteepnefs, are always difficult to be afcended, and were refpectively defended (when the place furrendered) by traverses, batteries, and flank-fires, that fcoured all thofe paffages, fo as to render them entirely inaccessible in cafe a defcent had been made below.

Befides

Besides these occasional flank-fires, to scour the avenues throughout the city, its defences consisted of twelve batteries, designed for an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, but did not mount above one hundred and six; the greatest number of them, particularly that called *Le Clerge en Barbette*, pointed to the basin and the south shore, to defend the anchoring-ground, and the channel to the Upper River: these were mostly thirty-six pounders; the rest, except a few eighteen pounders, were composed of twelves, and from that size downwards to four and three pounders; besides several mortars of different calibres, lodged in various places, for the annoyance of shipping. The ramparts, or line of fortification towards the country, consists of an entire wall of masonry, of a modern construction, and seems to be part of a design intended to be cannon-proof: there are no batteries here, except a few flank-fires about the works of *St. Louis*, *St. Jean Palais*, and one or two other places. This line of stone-work extends from the south-south-west corner, behind the citadel of *Cape Diamond*, to the north corner, near the lower road, leading from the country to *St. Roch*, where, by the assistance of nature, it forms a strong angle, and runs away in a long curtain eastward, excluding that whole suburb to *Port Palais*, and a little beyond it; whence it terminates to the Low Town with the dicing slope of the rock, and with no other defence than a regular piquet-work on its summit, with loop-holes for musketry, and two nine pounders pointed to the strand, at the entrance of the Little



River. At the east end of the Upper Town is a wall of masonry, which joins to the piquet-work before-mentioned on the north-east, and runs south ; being intended to cover a steep byeway leading to the sally-port from the Lower Town, and may be effectually protected by musketry, as it is of a good height, with a foot-bank, supported by scaffolding, which gives small arms a great command over that quarter, the men being well covered from above. On the flank opposite the south shore, from the south-west angle all round Cape Diamond, is another stockade-work, that runs down to the dock-yard in the Low Town, with loop-holes for musketry. There is no ditch round the town, nor any kind of outworks. The line of masonry encompassing the city on the west, is revested on the inside with a great body of earth, in which are two spacious vaults, with sally-ports. At some distance, within the line, are a chain of redoubts of masonry, extending from Cape Diamond down to the Hangman's Redoubt, which is near the strong angle before described. These were the antient limits of the city ; and originally there was a common garden wall between each of the redoubts, for the defence of the town against the incursions of the Indians. The ground to the north-west of Cape Diamond, within the walls, is high, and an excellent spot whereon to erect grand batteries, which would range the adjacent country for a vast extent, and even the Upper River, as far as Sillery. Upon the whole, it is in the power of art to render this city

city as impregnable on the land side, as it is naturally, by its singular situation, inaccessible towards the river.

Nor were the British arms less successful in the American islands. A squadron of nine ships of the line, under captain Hughes, with sixty transports, containing six regiments of foot, had sailed from England in the month of November 1758, for the West-Indies, to reduce the French Caribbee islands. General Hopson commanded the land forces, and Commodore Moore, then in the West-Indies, was to take the command of the fleet destined for this expedition, on its arrival at Barbadoes. The first object of their orders was Martinique, situated about twenty leagues north-west of that island, the seat of government, and the center of all the trade which France carries on with these islands; a place extremely strong, both by nature and art; the shore, on every side, indented with very deep bays, called cul de sacs, and the sands only discoverable at low-water, forming in many places a hidden and almost insurmountable barrier. A ridge of lofty and almost impassable mountains runs north-west and south-east, quite through the island; and both sides of the country are intersected at inconsiderable distances with deep gullies, through which, in the rainy season, the water rushes down with great impetuosity. In other respects, the island is pleasant and fruitful, well watered, well cultivated, and populous. The two principal places are St. Pierre and Port Royal; both considerable towns in this



part of the world, for their magnitude, trade, and strength.

From this short description, the reader will easily conceive how desirable such a conquest must be, and the difficulties that naturally opposed themselves to it ; the greater, as at this time there was a considerable number of regular troops in the island, which has a numerous and well disciplined militia, excellently adapted to the service of the country, and can bring into the field a large body of negroes, accustomed to arms, and, in general, well affected to the interest of their masters.

The men of war having silenced the batteries on shore, and driven the enemy from their entrenchments, the forces were landed without opposition on the west side of Port Royal harbour ; but the deep gullies, inclosed by steep precipices, proved an insurmountable obstacle to the regular march of the troops, or the conveyance of artillery. The enemy had broken up the roads ; and the troops had to march five miles through such roads, and such an impassable country, before the town of Port Royal could be attacked by land. General Hopson, therefore, judged the difficulties on the land side insurmountable, and commodore Moore declaring it was impossible to land the cannon nearer to the fort, the forces were reembarked on the next day after their landing.

As nothing could be done against Port Royal, the fleet sailed for St. Pierre, where, upon examining the coast, new difficulties arose ; and it was determined



terminated in a council of war, at which both the principal land and sea officers assisted, that the fort could not be reduced without such loss to the troops and ships as would entirely disable them from prosecuting any further attempt: it was therefore agreed to abandon their enterprize against Martinique. But though foiled in this their first attempt, they resolved not to return home with the disgrace of having done nothing worthy of the greatness of the armament; and considering that the island of Guadaloupe, another of the Caribbees, lying at the distance of thirty leagues to the westward, was an object of almost as much real consequence as Martinique, though neither so strongly fortified or garrisoned, immediately failed to attack that island.

Guadaloupe is about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; and obtained its name from a chain of mountains in Old Spain, so called. To speak with accuracy, it is rather to be considered as two islands, divided from each other by a small arm of the sea, not above three hundred feet over in the widest part. One of these islands is called Grande Terre, the other Guadaloupe; and are together in circuit about ninety leagues. Grande Terre is almost destitute of fresh water; but in Guadaloupe, not less than fifty rivers empty themselves into the sea, many of them navigable for boats nine miles up the country, not to mention the numberless springs which rise among the rocks, and after a thousand beautiful meanders, lose themselves in the larger streams. No place in all the West-Indies affords

more agreeable and romantic scenes, being full of high mountains; one of which, that far overtops the rest, is a volcano, and produces considerable quantities of sulphur. The island also contains hot-baths, of great use in medicine. The land in the vallies is extremely fertile, and produces the usual West-Indian commodities, sugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, ginger, &c. and the mountains abound with game. The air is more temperate and salubrious than it is in general between the tropics, and the country populous and flourishing. The government comprehends two smaller islands, viz. All Saints, and Deseada, which appear at a small distance from the coast, on the eastern side of the island.

The French began to settle in this island as early as 1632. But, like their other colonies, this continued long in a languishing condition, and did not emerge from its difficulties till after the peace of Utrecht, when France turned her attention strongly to these islands. However, Guadaloupe partook less of its care than Martinique; and yet from its natural advantages, it does not fall short of that island, either in the quantity or quality of its produce. Hitherto the importance of this island was little known to England; the people of Guadaloupe being forbid, by an old regulation, to trade directly with Europe, and only allowed to send their produce to Martinique, from whence they were supplied with European commodities. Attempts had been made upon this island in 1691  
and



and 1703 ; but the armaments being neither powerful enough, nor the operations conducted with sufficient abilities to produce any permanent effects, our troops only laid waste the country, and retired with their booty : but on the present occasion, we were more able, strong, and successful.

On the 23d of January the fleet arrived before the town of Basse Terre, the capital of the island, a place of considerable extent, large trade, and defended by a strong fort, which, in the opinion of the chief engineer, was not to be reduced by the ships. Notwithstanding which, commodore Moore brought four ships of the line to bear against the citadel ; the rest of the fleet were disposed of so as to act against the town, and the batteries which obstructed the landing. About nine in the morning captain Trelawney, in the *Lion*, began the engagement, by attacking a battery of nine guns, and the firing soon became general, and was continued, with the utmost fury, until night, when the citadel, and all the batteries, were effectually silenced. During this cannonade the bombs, that were incessantly thrown into the town in vast quantities, set it on fire in several places ; and the fire continued burning the whole of this and the following day, when the town was almost wholly reduced to ashes. In this sharp action, the loss on the side of the English was very inconsiderable. The next day the forces landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel. The island was, however, far from being reduced ; the country be-



ing rugged, mountainous, and abounding with difficult and dangerous passes and defiles ; and the inhabitants had retired with their armed slaves into the mountains, determined to defend their possessions to the last extremity.

General Hopson died at Basse-Terre, on the 27th of January, and was succeeded in the command by general Barrington, who resolved to prosecute the final reduction of the island with vigour, and accordingly ordered part of the troops to embark for Grande Terre, under colonel Crump, who attacked and reduced the towns of St. Ann and St. Francois. Whilst this manœuvre diverted the enemy's attention, the general himself attacked and carried the strong post of Gosier ; and thus Grande Terre was in a manner reduced, and disabled from sending any supplies to Guadaloupe.

A great part of the enemy had retired to a considerable mountain, not far from the town of Basse Terre, called Dos d'asne, or the Ass's Back ; a post of great strength and importance, as it commanded the town, and at the same time formed the only communication between it and the Capes-terre, the most level, pleasant, and fruitful part of the whole island. It was judged impracticable to force a passage into the Capes-terre, by this way, and all the rest of Guadaloupe was in the possession of the French : a plan was therefore formed to surprize Petit-bourg, Gonoyave, and St. Mary's, and from thence to march into Capes-terre, the reduction of which might be easily accomplished. But this de-

sign failing, it was necessary to attempt those places by open force : accordingly, colonel Clavering and colonel Crump landed, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, in a bay near Arnonville, without opposition, and attacked the enemy, who were strongly intrenched at Le Corne, a place strong by nature, and of the utmost importance, as it covered the whole country as far as the Bay of Mahaut, where provisions, and supplies of all sorts, were landed from the Dutch island of St. Eustatia. This post, after a short dispute, was forced ; another entrenchment, at Petit-bourg, met with the same fate ; and a third, near St. Mary's, was also carried. The troops having thus, at last, penetrated into Capes-terre, the island capitulated on the 1st of May, on the following terms : " The regular troops to be sent to Martinique, and allowed the usual honours of war ; and the inhabitants to be protected in their possessions, and in the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties." The capitulation was just signed, when the French squadron, commanded by M. Bompart, appeared off the island, and landed at St. Ann's, in Grande Terre, the general of the French Caribbee islands, with six hundred regular troops, a considerable number of free-booters and negroes, with a large quantity of arms and ammunition ; but finding that the island had capitulated, reembarked his troops and stores with all possible expedition, and returned to Martinique. Had this reinforcement arrived a few hours sooner, in all probability, the reduc-



reduction of Guadaloupe would have been found impracticable; the English army having suffered vast loss by sickness, from the intolerable heat of the climate. The small islands near Guadaloupe, Deseada, Santos, Petite Terre, and Marigalante, surrendered a few days after, on the same terms.

Thus this valuable island came into the possession of Great-Britain, after a campaign of near three months, in which the English troops persevered with the utmost firmness and courage. Continual fatigue, the air of an unaccustomed climate, posts strong by nature and art, defended by men who fought for every thing that was dear to them; all these difficulties only increased the ardour of our forces, who thought nothing impossible under commanders not more distinguished for their intrepidity and military skill, than their zeal for the service of their country, and the perfect harmony that subsisted between them. It ought not to be omitted, to the honour of the inhabitants, that in general they exerted themselves very gallantly in the defence of their country; Madame du Charmey, a considerable planter, particularly distinguished herself, heading her servants and negroes, and acquitting herself in a manner not unworthy of the bravest soldier, in the defence of her property.

The



## The CAMPAIGN of 1760.

A Strong Squadron of ships was stationed at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, under the command of Lord Colville, an able and experienced officer, with instructions to revisit Quebec in the summer, as soon as the river St. Laurence should be navigable; and general Amherst, commander in chief of the forces in America, wintered in New-York, that he might be at hand to assemble his troops early in the spring, and recommence his operations for the entire reduction of Canada. General Murray, who was left governor of Quebec, with a garrison of seven thousand men, neglected no step that could be taken by the most vigilant and able officer, for the maintaining the important conquest of Quebec, and subduing all the Lower Canada, the inhabitants of which actually submitted, and took the oath of allegiance to the king of Great-Britain. He accordingly was no sooner settled in his government, than he began repairing the ruins of the city, built eight redoubts of wood without the city, made foot-banks along the ramparts, opened embrasures, placed cannon, blocked up all the avenues of the suburbs with a stockade, caused eleven months provisions to be carried up to the Higher Town, and formed a magazine of four thousand fascines. As soon as these, and several other necessary labours were in some measure executed, he  
sent

sent out two detachments to take possession of St. Foix and Loretto, two posts of great consequence, as they secured eleven parishes in the neighbourhood of the city. Another detachment, consisting of several hundred men, marched to St. Augustine, brought off the enemy's advanced guard, with a great number of cattle, and disarmed the inhabitants. A third detachment of two hundred men, being sent to the other side of the river, disarmed the inhabitants there also, and compelled them to take the oath of allegiance. By this step, the English became masters of the southern side of the river St. Laurence, and were supplied with good quantities of fresh provisions. During three whole months in the winter, the troops were employed in dragging wood for fuel into the city : this constant hard labour, together with the excessive cold, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, greatly diminished their number ; and before the end of April a thousand soldiers were dead, and double that number rendered unfit for service.

In the mean time, the chevalier de Levis, the French general, got intelligence of the low state of the garrison, and resolved to attempt carrying the city, in the depth of winter. In pursuance of this scheme, he made all the necessary preparations for this enterprize. His advanced posts were established at Point au Tremble, St. Augustine, and Le Calvaire, and the main body of the army quartered between Trois Rivières and Jaques Quartier. He also took possession of Point Levi, where he formed

a ma-



a magazine of provisions, great part of which fell into the hands of the English; for as soon as the river was frozen over, general Murray sent thither a body of two hundred men, at whose approach the enemy abandoned their magazines, and retreated with precipitation; whilst the detachment took post in a church, until they could build two wooden redoubts, and fortify them with artillery. The enemy soon returning with a greater force, to recover this post, some battalions, with the light infantry, marched to cut off their communication; but they fled in great confusion, and afterwards took post at St. Michael, a considerable distance farther down the river. M. de Levis now resolved to defer the siege of Quebec, that it might be carried on in a more regular manner. He ordered the French ships up the river to be rigged, repaired the small craft, built gallies, cast bombs and bullets, and prepared fascines and gabions; while general Murray employed his garrison in making preparations for a vigorous defence. He sent out a detachment, which surprized the enemy's posts at St. Augustine, Maison Brulee, and Calvaire, where they took ninety prisoners. The light infantry were ordered to possess themselves of and fortify Cape Rouge, to prevent the enemy's landing at that place, and to be nearer at hand to observe their motions; but when the frost broke up, so that their ships could pass down the river, the enemy landed near St. Augustine.

The



The general, considering Quebec as no other than a strong cantonment, had projected a plan of defence, by extending lines, and intrenching his troops on the Heights of Abraham, which, at the distance of eight hundred paces, entirely command the ramparts of the city, and might have been defended by a small force against a considerable army. Necessaries of all kinds for this work had been provided, and in the middle of April the general intended to execute the intended lines, but found it impracticable, as the earth was still covered with snow in many places, and every where rendered impenetrable by the frost. Being informed, on the 26th at night, that the enemy had landed at Point au Tremble, to the number of fifteen thousand, including five hundred Indians, he ordered all the bridges that lay in their way to be broke down, secured the landing-places at Sillery and the Foulon, and next day marched out, at the head of the grenadiers of the army, five regiments, and the piquets for the garrison, with ten six pounders, to sustain the light infantry and Rangers, who were already advanced, took possession of an advantageous situation, and thus defeated the scheme which the French commander had formed for cutting off the English posts. These being all withdrawn, the general, the same afternoon, marched back to Quebec, with little or no loss, though his rear was harrassed by the enemy.

Monf. de Levis and his army occupied the village and neighbourhood of St. Foy the following night,

night, and his advanced posts possessed the coppice contiguous to the General Hospital ; but early in the morning of the 28th, the English light troops sallied out, and, with little difficulty, drove them to a greater distance. General Murray considering, that though the enemy were greatly superior in number, yet the English forces were habituated to victory, and were provided with a fine train of artillery, and that by shutting them up at once within the walls of the city, he should risk his whole stake on the single chance of defending an indifferent fortification ; a chance that could not be much lessened by an action, though the event should prove unfortunate, determined to hazard an engagement, and if unsuccessful to defend the place to the last extremity ; then retreat to the Isle of Orleans or Coudres with the remains of the garrison, and there wait for a reinforcement.

In pursuance of this resolution, about seven o'clock, he marched out to the Heights of Abraham with his little army, consisting of about three thousand one hundred and forty men, with eighteen pieces of cannon, viz. ten twelve-pounders and sixteen six-pounders, and two howitzers : the troops also carried out their intrenching tools, the general's intention seeming to be to intrench his army, and cover the town. Upon his arrival at these Heights, he descried the enemy's van on the eminencies of the woods of Syllery, and the bulk of their army to the right, marching along the road  
of



of St. Foy, inclining as they advanced, in order to conceal themselves. On this discovery, his line of battle being already formed, the troops were ordered to throw down their intrenching tools, and march forward ; this being judged the decisive moment to attack the enemy, in hopes of reaping every advantage that could be expected over an army not yet thoroughly arranged. The English troops accordingly advanced with the greatest alacrity ; the right wing, commanded by colonel Burton, consisted of the fortieth regiment, the eighteenth, and the second battalion of Royal Americans ; the left, under colonel Frazer, was formed of the twenty-eighth and seventy-eighth regiments, with the Highlanders ; the fifty eighth was the right center corps ; and the forty-third, the left center, was commanded by colonel James ; the second line was composed of the thirty-fifth, and the third battalion of Royal Americans, drawn up two deep, to appear more numerous ; major Dalling's corps of light infantry covered the right flank ; the left was secured by captain Hazen's company of Rangers, and an hundred volunteers, commanded by captain Macdonald ; the artillery were placed occasionally in front, in the intervals, or on the flanks, as circumstances required, under the command of major Godwin, assisted by major M'Kellar, the principal engineer. The field-pieces were extremely well served, and did amazing execution ; and as soon as the army came within reach

were



of musketry, the light infantry attacked the French grenadiers on the left of their army, and routed them. At the same instant, the volunteers and Rangers engaged their right, repulsed them in like manner, and possessed themselves of a redoubt occupied before by the enemy. Their center posts, seeing their right and left give way, fled without firing a shot. Whilst the English troops gained this advantage over their van, the main body of the French army advanced with great expedition, compleatly formed in columns, in spite of the utmost efforts of the English. One of these columns came, without loss of time, to sustain their flying grenadiers, now pursued by the English light infantry, who being overpowered, were obliged, with great loss, to retire to the rear, and were of little service afterwards; the enemy profiting thereby, instantly wheeled round some rising grounds, and charged the right wing of the English army vigorously in flank; while Mons. de Levis, with another division, made a like movement on the left, and then the action became obstinate on both sides. General Murray immediately ordered the thirty-fifth regiment from the second line, to support the right wing; and the third battalion of Royal Americans to support the left, who acquitted themselves with great honour. Quebec being the grand object, the enemy seemed regardless of the center of the English army, hoping, if they could outflank the wings, they should be able to get between

the English army and the city. With this view, they sustained their right and left wings with fresh reinforcements ; and fortune, at length, inclined to the more numerous army. The enemy possessed themselves of two redoubts on the left of the English army, which gave them a great advantage ; but by an excellent movement of the forty-third regiment, ordered by colonel James, from the center, to support the third battalion of Royal Americans on the left ; both these corps made a vigorous effort to recover those works, and succeeded ; but at last being reduced to an handful, were compelled to yield to superior numbers. In the course of the action, the English were insensibly drawn from their advantageous situation into low swampy ground, where the men fought almost knee-deep in melted snow : under these unhappy circumstances, it was impracticable to draw off the artillery, and after having performed prodigies of valour, our enfeebled army, having the whole force of the country to contend with, and its communication with the town being in danger of being intercepted, after an engagement of two hours, was obliged to give up the contest. The troops were accordingly ordered to fall back, a command they were hitherto unacquainted with : the retreat was conducted with great regularity, and the enemy did not pursue with the spirit which the importance of their victory required, having been very roughly handled. Tho' the English had eleven hundred, of all ranks,  
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killed, wounded, and made prisoners, and lost the greatest part of their artillery : the French, whose losses fell mostly upon the flower of their army, lost double that number, and reaped no essential advantage from their victory.

General Murray, far from being dispirited by his defeat, as soon as he retired within the walls of Quebec, prosecuted the repairs of the fortifications, which had been interrupted by the severity of the winter ; and the soldiers exerted themselves with incredible alacrity, not only in labouring at the works, but also in the defence of the town, before which the enemy had opened trenches on the very evening of the battle. Their fleet, consisting of three ships, anchored at Foulon by Sillery, below their camp, and for several days their boats were employed in landing stores, artillery, and provisions. Mean while they worked incessantly at their trenches before the town, and on the 11th of May opened one bomb battery, and three batteries of cannon. The garrison made the necessary dispositions to defend the place to the last extremity, two cavaliers were raised, some outworks contrived, and one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery were placed on the ramparts, mostly dragged there by the soldiery. Though the enemy cannonaded the place briskly the first day, their fire soon slackened, and their batteries were, in a manner, silenced by the superior fire of the garrison ; yet, notwithstanding this formidable artillery, had a French fleet from Europe appeared



first in the river St. Laurence, in all probability Quebec would have reverted to its former owners.

Lord Colvil had sailed from Halifax, with the fleet under his command, on the 22d of April; but was retarded in his passage by thick fogs, contrary winds, and great shoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had sailed from England with a small reinforcement, arrived in the beginning of May with two ships at the isle of Bic, in the river St. Laurence, where he proposed to wait for the rest of his squadron, which had been separated from him in his passage; but one of these, the *Leostoffe*, commanded by captain Dean, had entered the harbour of Quebec, on the 9th of May, and acquainted the governor that the English fleet was at hand. And the commodore no sooner received intelligence that Quebec was besieged, than he sailed up the river with all possible expedition, and on the 15th, in the evening, anchored above Point Levi.

The governor expressing an earnest desire that the French squadron, above the town, might be removed, commodore Swanton in the *Vanguard*, with the frigates, worked up with the tide of flood, early in the morning of the 16th, to attack the French squadron. At first Mr. Vauguelin, the French commodore, shewed an appearance of engaging, but soon made off: the *Pomona* was forced on the rocks above Cape Diamond, and burnt; the rest were pursued: the *Atalanta* was drove ashore near Point au Tremble about ten leagues

leagues above the town, and set on fire; and the remainder were all taken or destroyed, except La Marie, a small sloop of war, which threw her guns over-board, and escaped to St. Peter's Lake, above Trois Rivières. After having performed this notable service, the commodore fell down to the channel off Sillery, and enfiladed the right flank of the enemy's trenches for several hours so warmly, that between his fire, and that of the garrison, they were entirely driven from their works. The French general sent a party, with two field-pieces, to play upon the Vanguard, but without any effect; for by the ship's sheering in the current, she brought some of her guns to bear on those of the enemy, and obliged them to retire.

This disaster, and the arrival of a strong English fleet in the river St. Laurence, so dispirited the enemy, that in the following night they raised the siege, and retreated with great precipitation, leaving behind them their artillery, ammunition, camp-equipage, implements, and provisions. As soon as the governor received this intelligence, he ordered the batteries to fire *a ricochèt*, in hopes the shot might over-take them in their flight, and scour the circumjacent country\*, and marched him-

\* This method of firing is by elevating the guns at least ten degrees above their level, so that the shot may bound and roll after they strike. This is a very advantageous invention, and is ascribed to marshal Vauban; for guns are loaded with a smaller quantity of powder, and consequently less damaged.



self, at the head of his forces, in pursuit of them; but they had passed the river at Cape Rouge, before he could come up with their rear: however, he took some prisoners, and a great quantity of baggage. The enemy, who had sustained great loss during the siege, having one hundred and fifty-two officers killed and wounded, now retired as expeditiously as possible to Jaques Cartier, where they were abandoned by the greatest part of the Canadians, and having lost all hopes of succeeding against Quebec, began to take proper measures for the preservation of Montreal, against which general Amherst, notwithstanding all his disappointments, was now meditating an expedition.

At this place Mr. de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, fixed his head-quarters, and proposed to make his last stand against the efforts of the English general. He not only levied troops, collected magazines, and erected new fortifications in the island of Montreal, but even had recourse to feigned intelligence, and other delusive arts, to support the spirit of the Canadians, and their Indian allies, and acted with the spirit and foresight of an able and experienced general, determined to exert himself to the utmost for the preservation of the colony, even though very little prospect of success remained. His hopes, small as they were, were founded on the natural strength of the country, almost inaccessible to an army by woods, mountains, and morasses, which might retard the progress of the English, and, perhaps, protract the war



war until a general pacification. In the mean time general Amherst conveyed instructions to governor Murray, to advance by water towards Montreal, with all the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Quebec, and detached colonel Haviland with a body of troops from Crown Point, to take possession of the isle Aux Noix, in the Lake Champlain, and from thence penetrate the nearest way to the river St. Laurence; while he himself, with the main body of the army, amounting to about ten thousand men, including Indians, proceeded from the frontiers of New York, by the rivers of the Mohawks and Oneida, to the Lake Ontario, and fell down the river St. Laurence to the island of Montreal: by these means he proposed to hem in, and entirely surround the enemy. In pursuance of this plan, two armed sloops were provided to cruize on the Lake Ontario, under the command of captain Loring, as well as a great number of battoes for the transportation of the troops, artillery, stores, baggage, and provisions; several regiments were ordered to proceed from Albany to Oswego; and the general leaving Schenectady in the latter end of June, arrived there himself on the ninth of July with the remainder of the forces.

Two French vessels having appeared off Oswego, some battoes were dispatched to Niagara, to inform captain Loring thereof, who immediately failed in quest of them; but they escaped his pursuit, though they had been twice

seen in the neighbourhood of Oswego since the arrival of the general, who endeavoured to amuse them by sending battoes to different parts of the lake. The army being assembled, and joined by upwards of thirteen hundred Indians under Sir William Johnson, colonel Haldimand was detached with the grenadiers, the light infantry, and a battalion of Highlanders, to take post at the bottom of the lake, and assist the armed vessels in finding a passage to La Galette. On the tenth of August the army embarked on board battoes and whale boats, and proceeded towards the source of the river St. Laurence. Learning that one of the enemy's vessels had run aground, and was disabled, and that the other lay off La Galette, he determined to make the best of his way down to Sweegatchie, and attack the French fort of Isle Royale, farther down the river St. Laurence, the source of which it in a great measure commands. On the 17th the row-gallies fell in with the French sloop commanded by Mr. de Broquerie, which struck, after a warm engagement. The general having detached some engineers to reconnoitre the coasts and islands near L'Isle Royale, made a disposition for the attack of that fort, which was accordingly invested, after he had possessed himself of the islands. Some of these, viz. the islands Galot and Picquet, the enemy abandoned with such precipitation, as to leave behind a number of scalps they had taken on the Mohawk River, two swivel guns, a quantity of tools and utensils, iron, and some barrels of pitch.

The Indians were so exasperated at finding the scalps, that they fired all the houses, not sparing even the chapel. Batteries being erected on the nearest islands, within six hundred yards of the fort, it was cannonaded not only by them, but by the armed sloops, which had anchored before it, and a disposition made for making an assault, when the governor, Mr. Pouchot, beat a parley, and surrendered the fort: the garrison, consisting of near three hundred men, were made prisoners of war. The enemy, during the siege, had a lieutenant of marines, with twelve men, killed, and thirteen wounded. The whole loss on the side of the besiegers, was twenty-one men killed, and twenty-three wounded. The fort mounted twelve twelve pounders, two eight pounders, two six pounders, thirteen four pounders, four brass six pounders, and four of one pound each. The general finding the fort well situated for commanding Lake Ontario and the Mohawk River, employed some days in repairing the fortifications, and placed a garrison in it of two hundred men, under the command of captain Osborne.

Fort Levis or L'Isle Royale, as has been observed, is very advantageously situated: the island is small, and entirely comprehended within the works, which are carried on in the same irregular manner as nature has formed the insular shores about it; but the area of the fort is a regular square, within four bastions only, which seems to have been the first intention on fortifying the island;



island; so that, in all appearance, the other defences have been occasionally added, to render the place more respectable, and cut off our communication with Montreal, to which it is an excellent barrier. The country, north and south, inhabited chiefly by Indians, is level, rich, and capable of great improvements, which, with the uncommon fertility of the adjacent islands, producing Indian and other corn in great plenty, and the prospect of an immense fur trade, induced the government of Canada to establish a strong settlement in this district.

From this place the navigation down the river St. Laurence was extremely difficult and dangerous, owing to a great number of violent rapids and falls; among which forty-six battoes, seventeen whale-boats, a row-galley, and above fourscore men, with some artillery, stores, and ammunition, were lost. At length, after a tedious, fatiguing, dangerous voyage, of two months and seventeen days, since their departure from Shenectady, on the 6th of September the troops were landed on the island of Montreal, without opposition, except from some flying parties, which exchanged a few shot, and then retired with precipitation. The same day, the general repaired a bridge which the French had broke down in their retreat, and, after marching two leagues, formed his army on a plain before the city of Montreal, where they lay all night on their arms, the advanced centries being doubled; and the same precautions were taken at La Chine, the  
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place where the troops landed, and where a strong body of forces had been left to guard the battoes, &c.

Immediate orders were issued for some pieces of artillery to be brought up from La Chine. General Amherst being determined to commence the siege in form, without the least delay; but in the morning of the seventh, the marquis de Vaudreuil sent two officers, to demand a capitulation; which, after some letters had passed between the two generals, was granted, upon favourable terms, considering that they were hemmed in on all sides. General Murray, with the troops from Quebec, who in his passage had disposed the inhabitants of the south shore of the river St. Laurence to submit, and deliver up their arms, having burned the village of Sorel, the inhabitants of which were in arms; lord Rollo, with the reinforcement from Louisbourg, made himself master of Trois Rivières, without opposition, disarmed the inhabitants on the north side, and obliged them to take the oath of neutrality, had by this time both landed on the island of Theresa; and colonel Haviland, with the corps under his command, who had sailed from Crown-Point on the 11th of August, without meeting the least opposition, till he came to Isle aux Noix, which, as soon as he had broke ground and erected batteries, the enemy abandoned, as well as Fort Chambley, and every other post in proportion as he advanced, until he reached Longeil, on the south side of the river, opposite to Montréal, where he arrived also at  
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the next day. This critical junction of our three armies, effected in the space of forty-eight hours, was a circumstance equally favourable and surprising, if we reflect on the different routs they pursued through an enemy's country, where they had no intelligence of each other's motions, the immense difficulties they had to encounter every where, from a numerous and wary enemy, still infinitely heightened by the singular nature of the country, and the danger of an unknown navigation. All Canada now surrendered, on condition of preserving their civil and religious liberties, and properties. As soon as the capitulation was signed, colonel Haldimand took possession of Montreal with the grenadiers and the light-infantry, and brought off in triumph the colours of Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments, that had been taken at Oswego, and deposited here as trophies. Brigadier-general Gage was appointed governor of the place, with a garrison of two thousand men ; and general Murray returned to Quebec, where the garrison was augmented to four thousand. The mild, though determined method, which general Amherst pursued in negotiating with the marquis Vaudreuil, does him great honour ; while his moderation and humanity, to an ungenerous enemy, reflects the greatest reproach on them for their past cruelties, and repeated breaches of faith, adds a tenfold lustre to his conquest, proclaiming him the *hero* and *Christian*, and demonstrates to the whole world, the truth of what was so sensibly advanced by the  
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immortal Wolfe, in his first manifesto. “ The unparalleled barbarities exerted by the French in America, might justify the bitterest revenge ; but Britons breathe higher sentiments of humanity, and listen to the merciful dictates of the Christian religion.”

Montreal, situated on the island of that name, the second place in Canada, for extent, buildings, and strength, besides possessing the advantages of a less rigorous climate, for delightfulness of situation, is infinitely preferable to Quebec. It stands on the side of a hill, sloping down to the river with the south country, and many gentlemen’s seats thereon. together with the island of St. Helen, all in front ; which form a charming landscape, the river St. Laurence here being about two miles across. Though the city is not very broad from north to south, it covers a great length of ground from east to west, and is nearly as large and populous as Quebec. The streets are regular, forming an oblong square ; the houses well built, and in particular the public buildings, which far exceed those of the capital in beauty and commodiousness ; the residence of the Knights Hospitallers being extremely magnificent. There are several gardens within the walls, in which, however, the proprietors have consulted use more than elegance : particularly those of the Sisters of the Congregation, the Nunnery Hospital, the Recollects, Jesuits, seminary, and governor. Besides these, there are many other gardens and beautiful plantations without the gates ; as the garden of the  
General

General Hospital, and the improvements of Mr. Liniere, which exceed all the rest, and are at an agreeable distance on the north side of the town. The three churches and religious houses are plain, and contain no paintings, nor any thing remarkably curious, but carry the appearance of the utmost neatness and simplicity. The city has six or seven gates, large and small; but its fortifications are mean and inconsiderable, being encompassed by a slight wall of masonry, solely calculated to awe the numerous tribes of Indians, who resorted here at all times from the most distant parts, for the sake of traffic, particularly at the fair held here every year, which continued from the beginning of June till the latter end of August, when many solemnities were observed, and the governor assisted, and guards were placed to preserve good order, in such a concourse of so great a variety of savage nations. There are no batteries on the walls, except for flank fires, and most of these are blinded with planks and loop-holes, made at the embrasures for musketry. Some writers have represented these walls to be four feet in thickness, but they are mistaken: they are built of stone, the parapet of the curtains does not exceed twenty inches, and the merrins, at the flank-fires, are somewhat thicker, though not near three feet. A dry ditch surrounds this wall, about seven feet deep, encompassed with a regular glacis.

On the inside of the town is a cavalier, on an artificial eminence, with a parapet of logs or squared timbers,

timbers, and six or eight old guns, called the citadel. Such were the fortifications of Montreal, the second place of consequence in Canada, until the enemy raised the siege of Quebec; and then, in expectation that the English forces would follow them, a battery was erected, with two faces for nine guns, but had only four twelve-pounders mounted, two pointing to the navigation of the river, and the others to the road leading from Long-Point to the town, with a traverse for musketry, elevated on the inside of the battery, for the defence thereof, together with some piquet-works, forming a barrier to the entrance of the place, with loop-holes for their marksmen; and these, with two advanced redoubts, were all the temporary works made for its defence. The inhabitants, in number about five thousand, are gay and lively, more attached to dress and finery than those of Quebec; and from the number of silk sacks, laced coats, and powdered heads that are constantly seen in the streets, a stranger would imagine, that Montreal was wholly inhabited by people of independent fortunes. By the situation of the place, the inhabitants are extremely well supplied with all kinds of river fish; some of which are unknown to Europeans, being peculiar to the lakes and rivers of this country. They have likewise plenty of black cattle, horses, hogs, and poultry: the neighbouring shores supply them with a great variety of game in the different seasons; and the island

abounds



abounds with well tasted soft springs, which form a multitude of pleasant rivulets.

The island of Montreal itself is near forty miles in length, and about thirteen in breadth, where widest. The soil is exceedingly rich and good, producing all kinds of European grain and vegetables, in great abundance, with variety of garden fruits. The south side is the most inhabited, of course best cultivated; and besides the settlements, which are numerous, the island is adorned with villas, for the retirement of the more wealthy merchants during the summer season. No Indians are settled here; nor are they fond of settling on islands, from an hereditary distrust lest they should be cut off by the Europeans. The religious community of St. Sulpice, at Paris, were proprietors of this island, which they had by grant from the crown, and which produced them a considerable revenue.

The French ministry had made an attempt to succour Montreal, by sending in the spring a considerable number of transports, laden with stores, under the convoy of six frigates: three of these were taken in the English Channel; but the rest which escaped learning, that the English squadron had sailed up the river St. Laurence, took shelter in the Bay of Chaleur, on the coast of Acadia, from whence they immediately dispatched an express by land to Montreal, for orders from M. Vaudreuil. Captain Byron, who commanded the ships of war that were left at  
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Louisbourg, having received intelligence of them from brigadier Whitmore, governor of Louisbourg, sailed thither with his Squadron\*, and found them lying at anchor. The whole French fleet consisted of the Machault, a frigate of thirty-two guns, Le Bienfaisant of twelve guns, pierced for thirty, the Marquis de Malo's of sixteen guns, and nineteen small vessels, which were all destroyed, together with two batteries that had been raised for their protection, and sixty-seven English prisoners released, who had been taken by this fleet in small vessels bound for Quebec. The French town, consisting of two hundred houses, was also demolished, and the settlement totally ruined.

All the French subjects inhabiting the territories from the Bay of Fundy to the banks of the river St. Laurence, and all the Indians throughout that tract of country, were now subjected to the English government. In the month of December the preceding year, the French colonists of Miramichi, Rickebuëctou, and other places along the gulph of St. Laurence, made their submission, by deputies, to colonel Frye, who commanded in Fort Cumberland, at Chignecto. They afterwards renewed this submission in the most formal manner, by subscribing articles, by which they obliged themselves, and the people whom they represented, to repair in the

\* The Fame of seventy-nine guns, Dorsetshire seventy, Achilles sixty, Repulse thirty-two, and the Scarborough twenty. The channel being difficult, and little water, the large ships could not possibly reach higher than the first battery.

spring to Bay Verte, with all their effects and shipping, to be disposed of according to the direction of colonel Laurence, governor of Halifax in Nova-Scotia. They were accompanied by two Indian chiefs of the Micmack nation, a powerful and numerous tribe, now become intirely dependent on his Britannic majesty.

### The C A M P A I G N of 1762.

**T**HE French being thus expelled from all their settlements on the continent of North-America, except that of Louisiana, bordering on the river Mississippi, which was deemed an object of little or no importance, it was resolved, towards the close of the last year, to transfer the seat of war to the French islands in the West-Indies, against which nothing had been attempted since the reduction of Guadaloupe, except that in the month of June last, the neutral island of Dominica, which the French had settled, was reduced by a small detachment from Guadaloupe, and four ships of the line, with a few frigates, in the following mannner : On the first appearance of the English squadron off Roseau, two deputies came off in order to treat of surrendering ; but their first fears subsiding, the inhabitants refused to submit, and manned their intrenchments. The ships immediately anchored close to the shore ; the troops landed in the evening,



ing, and formed on the beach, under the fire of the squadron. Lord Rollo, seeing the forces galled by an irregular fire from trees and bushes, considering that the intrenchments commanded the town, which he had already taken possession of; that the country was naturally strong, and the enemy might be reinforced before morning, resolved to attack their intrenchments, without delay; which was immediately executed with such vigour and success, that the enemy were soon driven from all their batteries and intrenchments, and Mr. Longprie, the governor, with some other officers, were taken at their head-quarters. Next day the inhabitants delivered up their arms, and took the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty.

The miscarriage of the former expedition against Martinique, did not discourage the English ministry from making it the object of another attempt. A strong squadron was accordingly equipped, under rear-admiral Rodney, which sailed from Spithead in the month of October, 1761, with a number of transports, on board of which were four battalions from Belleisle, which were to be joined at Barbadoes by eleven battalions from New-York, together with some regiments and volunteers from the Leeward Islands; so that the whole of the land-forces did not fall much short of twelve thousand men, the chief command of whom was vested in general Monckton, who had acquired so much reputation in North-America.

The English fleet, which now consisted of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, bomb-vessels, &c. (having been reinforced by the squadron on the Barbadoes station) anchored in St. Ann's Bay, on the eastern side of the island, on the 8th of January, after silencing some batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the coast. In the course of this service, the *Raisonable*, a ship of the line, was by the ignorance of the pilot lost upon a reef of rocks, though the men were saved, together with her stores and guns. The general, however, judging this an improper place for disembarkation, the troops were landed on the 16th, at a creek called *Cas-navire*, without the loss of a man; the fleet having been disposed so properly, and having directed their fire with such effect, that the enemy was obliged, in a short time, to abandon the batteries that had been erected to defend this inlet. The troops being landed, and reinforced with two battalions of marines from the squadron, the general resolved to besiege the town of Fort Royal; but, in order to make his approaches, he found it necessary to attack *Morne Tortonson* and *Morne Garnier*, two considerable eminencies, which commanded the town and citadel, and were protected, like the other high grounds in this island, with very deep ravines, and this great natural strength improved by every contrivance of art. *Morne Tortonson* was first to be attacked. To favour this operation, a body of regular troops and marines were ordered to advance on the right along the sea-side, towards the

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town, in order to take possession of the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. A thousand seamen, in flat-bottomed boats, were to row close in shore, to assist them in their enterprize ; and the light infantry, supported by the brigade of Walsh, was to advance on the left towards the country, and if possible to turn the enemy, whilst the grenadiers and the body of the army attacked their center, under the fire of the batteries, which had been erected on the opposite side, with great labour and perseverance, the cannon having been dragged upwards of three miles by the seamen. These judicious dispositions were executed with spirit and resolution : the attack succeeded in every quarter, and the enemy's works were successively carried, until, after a sharp contest, the English troops remained masters of the whole eminence ; some of the enemy escaping into the town, to the very gates of which they were pursued, and the rest to Morne Garnier, which was as strong and much higher than Morne Tortenson, and of course commanded it.

Thus far the operations had proved successful ; but nothing could be done decisive without the possession of the other eminence, our troops being much molested by the enemy from that superior situation. Whilst proper dispositions were making for the attack of Morne Garnier, the enemy's whole force descended from that eminence, and attacked the English advanced posts, but they were immediately repulsed ; and the ardour of the English troops was



so great, that they improved a defensive advantage into an attack, passed the ravine with the fugitives, scaled the hill, seized the batteries, and posted themselves on the summit of Morne Garnier; the French regular troops escaping into the town, and the militia dispersing themselves in the country. These signal successes were obtained at the small expence of four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded, in the different attacks; but the loss of the enemy was much more considerable.

The situations which commanded the town and citadel being now secured, the enemy capitulated, as soon as the batteries were completed, and surrendered this important place, the second in the island, on the 4th of February; and next morning the garrison, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war, in order to embark for France, agreeable to the articles of capitulation.

St. Pierre, the capital, a place of no contemptible strength, still remained to be reduced: and it was apprehended, that the resistance here might be considerable, if the strength of the garrison, in any degree, corresponded with that of the fortifications, and the natural advantages of the country; but the reduction of Fort Royal had so greatly abated the enemy's confidence, that, despairing of making any effectual defence, they resolved to hold out no longer; and general Monckton, just as he was ready to embark in order to reduce St. Pierre, was  
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fortunately prevented by the arrival of deputies, who came with proposals of capitulation for the whole island, from M. de la Touche, the governor-general, who had retired with his forces to this town. On the 14th the terms were settled, and the capitulation signed, which was nearly the same as that granted to Guadaloupe; and on the 16th, the English general took possession of St. Pierre, and all the posts in that neighbourhood, and M. de la Touche, the governor-general, with M. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, the staff-officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were embarked in transports for France.

The surrender of Martinique naturally drew on the surrender of all the dependent islands. Grenada, a fertile island, and possessed of some good harbours, was given up without opposition; St. Lucia and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been a bone of contention between the two nations, followed its example. Thus the English now became the sole and undisturbed possessors of all the Caribbees, that chain of innumerable islands, which forms an immense bow, extending from the eastern point of Hispaniola almost to the continent of South-America; and though some of these islands are barren, none of them very large, and but few of them well inhabited, they boast of more trade than falls to the lot of many respectable kingdoms.

The time in which Martinique was reduced, was a circumstance of almost as much consequence as



the reduction itself ; for war having been declared against Spain in the beginning of the year, it became advisable to strike early such an effective blow against that nation as might incline their ministry to a speedy peace, or influence the fortune of the whole war, if it should continue. In order to execute this plan, it was necessary to employ a very great force, and of course to recall a very considerable part of the troops from Martinique, whilst the season permitted them to act.

The British administration having determined to transfer the war into the Spanish West-Indies, with great judgment, fixed their eyes at once upon the capital object, and resolved to commence their operations where others of less ability would have chosen to conclude. The plan of the war in 1740, in the Spanish West-Indies, in which we began with Porto-bello, and so proceeded to Carthagena, &c. was mean, and founded on wrong principles ; because the success of one attempt did nothing towards insuring success in the others. But the present plan was great and just ; the whole trade and navigation of the Spanish West-Indies centering at the Havannah, the conquest of which would enable us effectually to intercept the enemy's resources, and lay all Spanish America open to our future attempts.

This expedition was intrusted to the earl of Albemarle, as commander of the land forces, recommended for this service by the late duke of Cumberland, under whose auspices he had been formed to war ; and the fleet destined to co-operate in the  
attack,



attack, was commanded by admiral Pocock, who had already distinguished himself by his gallant behaviour in the East-Indies. They sailed from Portsmouth on the 5th of March, and on the 27th of May following were joined off Cape Nicholas, on the north-west point of Hispaniola, by a detachment of the fleet from Martinique, under Sir James Douglas ; and in consequence of this junction, their whole force consisted of nineteen sail of the line, eighteen smaller vessels of war, including bomb-vessels, &c. and about one hundred and fifty transports, having on board near ten thousand land-forces. A reinforcement of four thousand men had been ordered from New-York, and it was expected would arrive time enough to bear a part in their military operations.

The common course of sailing from Europe to the Havannah is to keep to the south of the island of Cuba, and fall into the track of the galleons : but this, though far the safest, being the most tedious passage, and the success of the whole enterprise depending upon its being in forwardness before the hurricane-season came on, the admiral chose the nearest course, through the Old Straits of Bahama, a narrow passage, amidst a vast number of small islands, not less than seven hundred miles in length, from east to west : this passage, through almost its whole extent, is bounded on the right and left by the most dangerous sands and shoals, which render the navigation so hazardous, that it has usually been avoided by single, and even small

small vessels. However, the admiral being provided with a good chart of lord Anson's, resolved to trust to his own sagacity, conduct, and vigilance, to carry safely through those streights a fleet of near two hundred sail. Every precaution was taken to guard so bold an attempt from the imputation of temerity : a vessel was sent to reconnoitre the passage, and when returned was ordered to take the lead ; some frigates followed ; sloops and boats were stationed on the right and left, on the shallows, with well adapted signals, both for the day and the night. The fleet moved in seven divisions, and being favoured with good weather, through the admirable dispositions which were made, got through the streights in eight days, without the smallest loss or interruption ; and on the 6th of July lay to, about five leagues to the eastward of the Havannah, after having taken a Spanish frigate and a storeship in the passage.

St. Jago, situated at the south-east part of the island, is indeed the capital of Cuba : but the Havannah, tho' the second city in rank, is the first in wealth, extent, and importance. Its harbour is in every respect one of the best in the West-Indies, and perhaps in the world. The entrance is by a narrow passage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large bason, forming three cul de sac's, capable of containing a thousand sail of the largest ships, having almost throughout six fathom water, and being sheltered from every wind. In  
this

this bay the rich fleets from the several parts of the Spanish West-Indies, called the galleons and the flota, assemble, before they finally set out on their voyage for Europe; which circumstance has rendered the Havannah, situated on the west side of the harbour, in a beautiful vale, with the sea in front, and surrounded on the opposite side by the river Sagida, one of the most opulent, flourishing, and populous cities in this part of the globe. Great care was taken to fortify and secure a place, which, being the center of so rich a commerce, would naturally become the fairest mark for the attempt of an enemy. The narrow entrance into this harbour was secured on one side by a very strong fort, called the Moro, built upon a projecting point of land; on the other it was defended by a fort, called the Puntal, which joined the town. The town itself, which stands opposite to the Moro, was also surrounded by a good rampart, flanked with bastions, and secured with a ditch.

The Spaniards, who for some time had been preparing for war, had formed a considerable navy in the West-Indies. This fleet, which amounted to twelve sail of the line, besides frigates, lay now in the basin of the Havannah, not having received, when the English armament appeared before the port, any authentic account from their court of the commencement of hostilities between the two nations. But though the Spaniards were very far from being deficient in taking proper measures for their



their defence, in every other respect, almost the only use they made of their ships was to sink three of them behind a strong boom, which they laid across the mouth of the harbour.

As soon as all things were in readiness for a general disembarkation of the troops, the admiral, with part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, and made a feint of attempting to land upon that side, about four miles from the town; while commodore Keppel, with another part of the squadron, approached to the eastward of the harbour, and effected a landing without opposition, between the rivers Bocanao and Coxemar, about six miles from the Moro, having previously silenced a small fort. The principal body of the army was destined to act upon that side: it was divided into two corps, one of which, commanded by general Elliot, was advanced a considerable way up the country, towards the south-east of the harbour, in order to cover the siege, and to secure the parties employed in watering, and procuring provisions; the other, under general Keppel, was immediately employed in the attack on the Moro, to the reduction of which the efforts of the English were principally directed, as the Moro commanded the town and the entrance of the harbour. To make a diversion in favour of this grand operation, a detachment of two thousand men, including eight hundred marines, under colonel Howe, were landed at Chorera river, four miles to the westward of the town. Such was the disposition of the land-forces during the siege.

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The hardships which our troops encountered in carrying on the siege of the Moro are almost inexpressible : the earth was every where so thin, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could cover themselves in their approaches. There being no spring or river near, it was necessary to bring water from a great distance ; and so precarious and scanty was this supply, that they were frequently obliged to procure it from the ships. Roads for communication were to be cut through thick woods, and the artillery was to be dragged a vast way over a rough rocky shore. But such was the resolution of our people, that no difficulties, no hardships, slackened for a moment the operations against this important place. Batteries were, in spite of all difficulties, raised against the Moro, and along the hill upon which this fort stands, in order to force the enemy's ships farther into the harbour, and thus prevent them from disturbing the approaches.

The garrison in the Moro had still a communication with the town, from which they received reinforcements and supplies ; and on the 29th of June made a sally with a thousand chosen men, and a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers : but were repulsed by the piquets, and advanced posts, with the loss of above two hundred men killed or taken.

Whilst the works were vigorously carrying on ashore, the admiral, not contented with the great assistance which he had before lent to every part of the land service, resolved to try something further,  
and



and which was more immediately within his own province, towards the reduction of the Moro. Accordingly, on the 1st of July, the day the English batteries were opened, three of the largest ships of the line, the Dragon, the Cambridge, and the Marlborough, commanded by captains Hervey, Goostrey, and Burnet, were sent to attack that fort, which they cannonaded for seven hours without intermission; but the Moro being situated upon a high and very steep rock, was proof against all their efforts: besides, the fire from the opposite fort the Puntal, and the batteries of the town, galled them extremely, insomuch, that in order to save the ships from absolute destruction, Commodore Hervey was obliged at length, though unwillingly, to discontinue the attack, as the ships were very much shattered in this long and unequal contest. We had one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded, including captain Goostrey, of the Cambridge, a brave and experienced officer, who fell in the beginning of the engagement. This bold attempt was nevertheless of considerable service, by diverting the enemy's attention to that side: the English, in the meantime, pouring in their fire with redoubled fury from the batteries, it soon became much superior to that of the enemy, and greatly damaged their works: but the moment the ships retired, the Spaniards returned again to the eastern face of the fort, and made as vigorous a defence as before, and both sides kept up a constant fire for several days. It

now



now became evident, that the reduction of this fortress must be a work of time.

In the midst of this sharp and doubtful contest, the capital battery against the fort unfortunately took fire, and was almost wholly consumed; and the labour of six hundred men, for seventeen days, destroyed in a moment.

This mortifying stroke was felt the more severely, because the other hardships of the siege were become by this time almost insupportable. The reinforcement from North-America had been in vain expected; sickness had reduced the army to half its number, at the same time that it doubled the fatigue of the few who still preserved some remains of strength; and no less than three thousand of the seamen were in the same miserable condition: besides, as the season advanced, the prospect of succeeding grew fainter; and the fleet riding on an open shore, must to all appearance, be exposed to inevitable ruin, if the hurricane-season should come on before the reduction of the place. But in the midst of these distresses, the steadiness of the commanders infused life and activity into the troops, and roused them to incredible exertions. New batteries were erected in the place of the old; and their fire now soon became superior to that of the enemy: by degrees the cannon of the fort were silenced, all the upper-works beaten to pieces, and at length, on the 20th of July, the troops made a lodgement on the covered way. Some days before they gained this great advantage, the Jamaica fleet appeared in its passage

passage to Europe, from which the army procured bags of cotton, and several conveniencies for the siege. Not many days after, a considerable part of the troops from New-York arrived. Some of the transports, in their passage through the Old Bahama streights, were lost; but the men were saved, and brought off in five sloops, detached by the admiral on that service: five other transports, having on board three hundred and fifty of Anstruther's regiment, and an hundred and fifty provincials, were taken by a French squadron near the passage between Maya Guanna and the North Caicos.

In this advanced state of the siege a new difficulty appeared; an immense ditch, eighty feet long and forty feet wide, more than forty feet of that depth cut in the solid rock. The soil of the neighbouring country being very thin, it appeared impossible to fill it up. To undermine it was the only expedient, which might have proved impracticable, if fortunately a thin ridge of rock had not been left in order to cover the ditch towards the sea. Along this ridge the miners passed, without cover, to the foot of the wall, where they made a lodgment with little loss. In the night of the 21st a serjeant, and twelve men, scaled the walls by surprize; but, the garrison being alarmed before they could be sustained, were obliged to make a precipitate retreat. Next day, at four in the morning, a body of twelve hundred men, chiefly composed of the country militia, mulattoes, and negroes, were transported across

cross the harbour, climbed the hills, and attacked the besiegers in three different places, under cover of a warm fire from the Fort Puntal, the west bastion, the lines and flanks of the entrance, and the shipping in the harbour. But after a warm dispute, which cost the English about fifty men, killed and wounded, all the three parties were repulsed, and driven down the hill with great slaughter, a considerable number being drowned in the hurry of their retreat. The Spaniards lost in this well concerted but unsuccessful sally, upwards of four hundred men. On the 30th, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed out into the harbour, and fired with grape-shot and small arms into the ditch, though without any great interruption to our miners; and the close fire of the covering party soon compelled the enemy to retire.

This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro, which, though abandoned by the city, did not offer to capitulate. In the afternoon of the same day two mines were sprung with such effect, that a practicable breach was made in the bastion; and orders were immediately given for the assault. The troops mounted the breach with great intrepidity, and drove the enemy from every part of the ramparts, after a short, tho' warm dispute, in which about one hundred and thirty Spaniards were killed, including several officers of distinction, in particular Don Louis de Velasco, the governor of the fort, (the marquis Gonzales having been blown up when the mine was sprung) who had distinguished himself from



beginning of the siege by his courage and activity ; and in this last action, after performing every thing that could be expected from the most romantic gallantry, fell by a shot he received in defending the colours of Spain. About four hundred of the garrison threw down their arms, and were made prisoners ; the rest were either killed, or drowned in attempting to escape to the Havannah. In this attack the English lost but two lieutenants and twelve men ; and one lieutenant, four serjeants, and twenty-four men only, were wounded.

The governor of the Havannah now directed his chief fire against the fortrefs which he had lost, and sent down a large ship of the line to the entrance of the harbour, from whence she could batter it with more effect : her efforts, however, were fruitless. In the mean time general Keppel erected a line of batteries, consisting of forty-three pieces of cannon and twelve mortars, along the hill of the Cavannos, on the extremity of which the fort stands, in order to command the whole eastern side of the city, from one end to the other ; and a plan was formed for making a new attack to the westward of the town. On the 10th of August the batteries on the Cavannos being finished, the earl of Albemarle summoned the governor to surrender, who resolutely answered, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. Next morning, at day-break, the batteries began to play against the town and the Puntal with such continued and irresistible fury, that the Puntal fort was silenced in six hours, and in  
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another hour the north bastion was almost disabled. Flags of truce now appeared from every quarter of the town, which were followed by a capitulation, whereby the established religion, their former laws, and private properties, were secured to the inhabitants. The garrison, which was reduced to about seven hundred men, was conveyed to Old Spain, and on account of its brave defence, was allowed the honours of war. A district of one hundred and eighty miles westward was included in the capitulation. The Spaniards stickled hard to save the men of war, and to have the harbour declared neutral; but after two days altercation, hostilities being about to be renewed, they thought proper to recede from their demands; and the English troops were put in possession of the Havannah on the 14th of August, after a siege of two months and eight days, at the expence of five hundred men, including fifteen officers, killed; and about seven hundred, comprehending thirty-nine officers, cut off by contagious disorders, which raged with redoubled violence after the reduction of the place.

The acquisition of the Havannah was not only a military advantage of the highest class, but equal to the greatest naval victory, by its effect on the marine force of Spain; and the plunder equalled the produce of a national subsidy. Nine sail of Spanish ships of the line, some of the finest vessels in the world, were taken, with four frigates; and two more, that were in forwardness on the stocks, were destroyed. Three of their capital ships had been,

as has been already mentioned, sunk by themselves at the beginning of the siege. In ready money, tobacco collected at the Havannah on account of the king, and other valuable merchandize, the plunder did not fall much short of three millions sterling, exclusive of great quantities of artillery, small arms, and warlike stores, that fell into the hands of the conquerors; so that the British nation was more than indemnified for the expedition, and the loss to Spain was irreparable.

M. de Ternay having escaped from Brest in a fog, with four ships of the line and a bomb-ketch, with a proportionable number of land-forces, arrived on the 24th of June at the Bay of Bulls, in Newfoundland, where he landed some troops without opposition; and finding the island unprepared to make a resistance, took possession of two small English settlements, Trinity and Carbonear, which he destroyed, as likewise the stages for curing cod, and implements of the fishery, took several vessels, and did considerable damage to the English settlers on different parts of the coast. The town of St. John's, being in no condition of defence, also capitulated; and the garrison, consisting of one company of soldiers, were made prisoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his majesty's sloop the Gramont, which was in that harbour.

This petty triumph was but of a very short duration. The armament fitted out in England to retake Newfoundland, the moment the news arrived,



rived, was rendered unnecessary by the vigilance and activity of general Amherst, commander in chief in North-America. Having received advice of the progress which the French armament had made on the coast of Newfoundland, he detached colonel Amherst with a body of land forces, and lord Colville, who commanded the English squadron in America, to recover this valuable island. Lord Colville accordingly sailed from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour of St. John by sea, even while M. de Ternay, the French commodore, lay at anchor in it with a superior squadron. On the 11th of September he was joined by colonel Amherst, who had touched at Louisbourg, and taken on board some troops, which, with those embarked at Halifax, amounted to about eight hundred, chiefly Highlanders and light infantry. The troops landed, after a short resistance, in Torbay, about seven miles to the northward of St. John's; and though this part of the country was rendered difficult by mountains and passes, occupied by the enemy, the British forces advanced to the strong post of Kitty-vitty, which they took sword in hand, and likewise drove the enemy from two other heights, which they had fortified, and did not abandon without bloodshed. On the 16th of September they encamped in the neighbourhood of St. John's Fort, and next day a mortar-battery was compleated. The French commodore had sunk some shallops in the entrance of the harbour, which was commanded by a breast-work

work and an unfinished battery. These being taken, and the channel opened, colonel Amherst received his artillery and stores by water conveyance. Unfortunately lord Colville, with his squadron, was drove by contrary winds to some distance from the coast. In his absence, M. de Ternay took advantage of a thick fog, and made his escape, not being discovered by the English fleet till he had got at a considerable distance. On the 10th, in the morning, M. de Hausonville, the commander of the French forces at St. John's, who had already been summoned, but had refused to surrender, thought proper to demand a capitulation, and surrendered himself, with his garrison, prisoners of war, on condition of being conveyed to Brest the first opportunity. They were a fine body of troops, and nearly equal in number to the besiegers. Thus the town and fort of St. John's, with all the other petty places which the French had taken on this coast, were recovered with very little loss, by a handful of troops, who acted with most remarkable resolution, and surmounted many difficulties, by dint of indefatigable labour and perseverance. In this short expedition, lieutenant Schuyler, of the Royal Americans, was killed: captain M'Donald died of the wounds he received in attacking one of the enemy's fortified posts: the captains Bailie and M'Kenzie were wounded, but recovered: and not above twenty men were lost in all the different actions.

Such

Such were the principal events of the late most glorious war in every part of America; and having omitted no care to render our narrative as perfect as the nature of the work would permit, we flatter ourselves, it has proved as entertaining as the subject is interesting to the reader.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE  
IN  
AMERICA.



CANADA.

BOUNDARIES, NATURAL HISTORY, PRODUCTIONS, and TRADE.

THE extent or boundaries of Canada are variously fixed by the French geographers, and perhaps yet remain undiscovered, as well as the source of the river St. Laurence, which runs through this country, and is pretended to be derived from remote north-western lakes, as yet unknown to Europeans. Leaving these matters to more competent judges, we shall confine our account of this country

country from Lake Ontario, lying between 41 and 43 deg. north latitude, west longitude 79 deg. which seems to be the most natural source of this noble river, to its gulph or entrance at Cape Raye, on the island of Newfoundland; and to the lands and settlements immediately in view of this navigation, being the most interesting parts of this colony: the extensive forests backward of them, being, to this day, chiefly in their rude primitive state, uninhabited and unfrequented, except by the native savages, and the coureurs du bois or hunters, whose accounts are extravagant and erroneous. The entrance of the river St. Laurence is formed by Cape Raye, before-mentioned, on the north-east and north; by the island of Cape Breton on the south-west, situated about one hundred leagues from Quebec, the capital, which lies about the center of the province; thence to Trois Rivières, reputed half-way to Montreal, thirty-three leagues; and from Montreal to the north-east point of Lake Ontario the distance is, by computation, near seventy leagues. But there is another entrance into the river from the sea, north-about through the Straights of Belle-île, an island of no great extent, on the eastern coast of New-Britain, which gives name to these streights, and separates the north part of Newfoundland: this passage, however, being very unsafe, is seldom frequented.

The islands in this long extensive river are almost innumerable, and many of them are fertile, inhabited, and well cultivated; particularly the isles of Coudre

Coudre and Orleans, below Quebec ; those of St. Ignatius, Theresa, Montreal, and Jesus, with some of lesser note in that district ; and several others to the south-west of them in the Lake St. Francis, the principal of which is St. Peter's. Montreal and Orleans are the most considerable ones : but the former having been already described, we shall proceed to give a short description of the Isle of Orleans only. This island, though not above twenty-one miles in extent, and not above four broad in its widest part, is divided into five parishes, and contains several gentlemen's seats. Its situation is delightful, on a noble river, in the heart of a charming country, and surrounded by a great number of natural curiosities, and pleasant villages. The north-west and north sides of the island are woody ; but all the rest of it is laid out in compact farms, and very well cultivated. The soil is fertile, producing every species of grain and vegetables, the same as in England.

There are a great variety of safe and commodious harbours in this river, after clearing the islands of Cape Breton and St. John ; of which the principal are Chaleurs, Gaspee, Tadoussac, and Chaudiere ; but the haven of Quebec exceeds all the rest, where an hundred ships of the line may ride in the greatest safety.

The navigation of this river, from its entrance to Quebec, is not so difficult as represented by the French, for political reasons ; but with respect to the upper part, from that capital to Montreal, tho' there



there is water enough for vessels not drawing more than eleven feet ; yet the navigation is difficult and perplexing, and in tacking from one shore to another, obstructions are frequently met with, and which, according to the Canadians, are often moved from one part of the river to another, by the immense floats of ice that roll up and down the currents, at the breaking up of the winters : and, as the currents are extremely rapid in most places, vessels should be well provided with sufficient ground-tackle. There are no cataracts between the capital and Montreal, as some writers have advanced, except a strong ripple between Jaques Cartier and Chambaud, called the Rapids of Richlieu ; where, at high water, though the channel runs serpentine, there is a sufficient depth for a forty-gun ship. In the navigation from Montreal upwards, frequent interruptions are met with, particularly between that island and lake St. Francis ; but the others, between the lake and Isle Royale, are more frightful than dangerous. Sloops cannot work higher up than Montreal, nor come farther down from Lake Ontario than to Isle Royale ; but the intermediate difficulties may be surmounted by flat-bottomed-boats or canoes. Upon the whole, this is a most valuable river, and, except at its very entrance, free from those fogs so endemial to the coasts of Nova-Scotia, Cape Breton, and Newfoundland.

The lower part of the country, from the mouth of the river St. Laurence, is wild, uncultivated,  
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and on the south side covered with impenetrable woods, mostly of pine and dwarf-spruce, with stupendous rocks and barren mountains, which form a most dismal prospect; while the north, for several leagues, is low, marshy, and covered with strong reeds, rushy grass, with close forests, appearing at some distance. The first settlement after clearing the frontiers of Nova Scotia, is St. Barnaby, on the south shore, about thirty leagues within the gulph, where the sight is entertained with a prospect of an open, seemingly fertile, civilized country; and the numerous parishes from thence upwards, though some spots are barren, are in general fertile, open, and well cultivated, producing corn, flax, and vegetables, stocked with horned cattle, sheep, swine, poultry, and horses, and exceedingly well watered by innumerable rivers and rivulets, which empty themselves into the river St. Laurence, and are plentifully stored with salmon, eels, and other fish peculiar to these waters \*. The  
north

\* The principal fish inhabiting the river St. Laurence, from its gulph to the lakes, are a great variety of small whales, particularly the souffleur, so called from his blowing the water after diving, as whales do, through an hole behind his head. Porpoises, dolphins, and sea-cows, innumerable. This last is an amphibious animal, as large as some oxen, which has a skin like that of a sea-dog, and a mouth like a cow, with two projecting teeth, crooked downwards, about half a yard long: these tusks are as valuable as ivory, and are applied to the same uses: the fore-feet are like those of a cow, the hinder-feet webbed, like those of a goose. This animal  
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north country does not make so promising an appearance ; the first settlements being the king's farms at Mal Bay, near the river Saguenny, and haven of Tadoussac. Where the lands have undergone cultivation, the soil is kind ; but the country east and north-east of these farms remains in its original state, with lofty and steep banks to the river. The lands on the south side also rise gradually high and steep, after clearing the woody island of Anticosti, with trees and underwoods on the sides of the declivities, and continue so for the most part on both coasts, all the way upwards. From Mal Bay to Cape Tourmente, not less than thirty miles, is mountainous and barren ; but then the eye is agreeably surprized with a pleasant settlement, called St. Paul's ; where, and from which parish upwards, the country is in general clear, fertile, and well improved, in like manner as the lands on the south coast, and intersected by numerous rivers and streams, that run into the river St. Laurence. However, neither coast is uniformly fruitful ; there are several exceptionable tracts on both

has seldom more than one or two young ones, is strong, wild, and very difficult to be taken on shore. It is said to eat neither flesh nor fish ; but that its food consists of a submarine weed, known by the name of sea-forrel. The inhabitants catch them by the following stratagem : they tie a bull to a stake, fixed on the shore, in the depth of two feet water : they then beat and torment him, by twisting his tail, until they make him roar ; as soon as these creatures hear his cries, they crawl to the bull, and are easily taken. Salmon, eels, bass, mackarel, gusperot, her-



both sides, and in many parishes small forests are met with, perhaps designedly left for fuel, shelter, and other purposes. The lands on the coasts, from Montreal to Lake Francis, are very woody, with a cold and spongy soil; but from this lake to Lake Ontario, north and south, the ground is much better, producing variety of excellent timber for ship-building, good grass, and little or no underwood. The French had no settlements farther west than the Cedars, about half-way between Lake Ontario and Lake St. Francis; the country round the former, and on the principal rivers flowing into it, being inhabited by the Iroquois, whose chief employment, when not at war, is hunting and fishing.

The winter-climate, for above six months, is severely cold, four of which are truly rigorous: the vast river St. Laurence is early frozen over, to a great depth; but the atmosphere is generally clear and serene, except when a snow-storm sets in, which

herrings, gold-fish, (some near fifteen inches in length) chad, several species of cod, haddock, pike, turbot, halibut, plaice, lampreys, perch, sprats, thornback, a particular species of tench, congar, smelts, and roach. The shell-fish are, small lobsters, crabs, oysters, cockles, winkles, and muscles, larger and better flavoured than in Europe, but so coated with a pearly kind of sand, that it is difficult to open and clean them.

The lakes abound with sturgeon, armed fish, divers sorts of trout, in particular a species of salmon-trout, some of which weigh near sixty pounds, and are five feet and a half in length, and about one foot diameter; eels, white-fish, a species of herring, mullet, carp, gulfish, gudgeons, and many other sorts, whose names are unknown to Europeans.

feldom

seldom continues above twenty-four hours, during which time it is incessant \*. The summers, tho' short, are pleasant, except in July and August, when it is exceedingly hot, with violent thunder-storms; but this season is so prolific, that, as in other northern climates, the farmer reaps the fruits of his labour within four months after the seed is sown, and the quickness of vegetation in gardens is surprising.

This country produces various kinds of timber; such as, red, white, and evergreen oak, black and white birch, fir and pine trees of different species, maple †, alder, cedar, bitter-cherry, ash, chestnut, beech, hazel, black and white thorn, apple, pear, plumb trees, and an infinite number of non-descripts; besides a great variety of shrubs, particularly the capillaire, which grows like fern, and  
is

\* The stoves that are used in this country are excellently adapted to the climate. They are made of cast iron, at a foundery contiguous to Trois Rivières, and stand upon a frame of the same metal, about eight inches from the ground; and if the floor is boarded, the place where the stove is to be fixed should first be covered with leaves of sheet iron, as should likewise the edges of the holes in wooden partitions, thro' which the pipes are conveyed from one room to another, to render them perfectly safe.

† The sap of this tree has an exceeding pleasant taste, and makes a very wholesome drink in fevers. This liquor is drawn by cutting a gash in the tree two inches deep, and about a foot long: at the lower end of this wound is fixed a small trough, made of reed or cane, six inches long, with a vessel placed underneath to receive the sap. Some trees yield five or six bottles of this liquor in a day, of which the Americans make a sugar of a grey sandy colour, but so hard and solid as not to be easily broken

is found in great plenty in the woods : the merchants of Quebec exported great quantities of its syrup annually to France.

The Canadians have variety of game, both fowl and quadrupeds, in the greatest plenty ; fine poultry, vast flights of wild pigeons, and an excellent breed of black cattle, sheep, swine, and horses, with which the farms in general are plentifully stocked.

They have hitherto raised no staple commodity, to answer any considerable demand : some tobacco has been planted, indeed, which is used by the meaner sort of people ; but from not being properly manufactured, is wretched insipid stuff, and unfit for sale. Their trade with the Indians produces all their returns for the European market ; which consist principally of the furs of beavers, foxes, and racoons, with deer skins, and all the branches of the peltry. Furs, indeed, are more plenty to the south, but not of so good a staple. These, with what corn and timber they send to the West India islands, furnish sufficient to render life easy and agreeable in a plentiful country.

broken : this sugar is an excellent pectoral. In the same manner they bleed the spruce fir, (but the incision does not require to be made so deep or long) whence a fine fragrant balsam is extracted, known by the name of Canada balsam, less heating than balsam capivi, and of infinite benefit taken internally, in ulcerations of the lungs, as well as externally applied to bruises or green wounds. The time for drawing the sap from both these trees is from the middle of February to the middle of April.

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The beaver is an amphibious quadruped. The largest are somewhat less than four feet in length, and fifteen inches in breadth over the haunches. In the most northern parts their skins are generally quite black, though there are sometimes found beavers entirely white. In the more temperate countries they are brown, their colour becoming lighter in proportion as they advance farther southward. The lighter the colour, the less quantity of fur they yield, and consequently are less valuable. The beaver is said to live fifteen or twenty years, and the female to carry her young four months: her common litter is four, having only four teats. The muscles of this animal are exceeding strong, and in appearance thicker than its size requires. Its bowels are extremely slender, its bones very hard, and its jaws surprizingly strong, each of which is furnished with ten teeth, two incisive, and eight double teeth. The incisives of the upper jaw are two inches and a half long; those of the under jaw upwards of three, following the bending of the jaw, which gives them surprizing force for so small an animal. The jaws do not exactly correspond; the upper advances considerably over the under jaw, so that they cross like the blades of a pair of scissars. The head is like that of a mountain-rat; the snout is pretty long; the eyes little; the ears short, round, hairy on the outside, and smooth within; the legs short, particularly the fore-legs, which are not above five inches long, and much like those of a badger; the nails are

made obliquely, and hollow like quills ; the hind-feet are different, being flat, and furnished with membranes between the toes. Thus the beaver can walk, though slowly, and swims with the same ease as any other aquatic animal. Its tail is almost four inches broad at the root, five in the middle, and three at the extremity ; in large beavers about an inch thick, and a foot in length. Its substance is a firm fat, and is covered with a scaly skin ; the scales are hexagonal, half a line in thickness, and from three to four lines long, and rest on each other, like those of fishes. The testicles of this animal lie concealed within the loins. The drug called castor is an inspissated secretion, contained in two small bags, of the form of a pear, near the anus of both male and female, and not the testicles of this animal, as formerly wrongly supposed.

The manner in which they build their habitations is extremely curious. They first pitch on a spot where there is plenty of provisions, and all materials necessary for building : above all things water is absolutely necessary ; and in case they can find neither lake nor pool, they supply that defect by stopping the course of some rivulet with a dyke, to effect which they fell trees with their teeth, but above the place where they intend to build, and take their measures so well, that the trees always fall towards the water ; and cut them into proper lengths with their teeth, roll them towards the water, and thus navigate them to the place where they are to be employed. This dike consists of piles, nearly as thick

as one's thigh, supported by strong stakes, interwoven with small branches, and the vacant spaces are filled with fat earth so exactly, as not a drop of water passes through. They prepare this earth with their feet, and their tail serves for a trowel for building, as well as for a wheelbarrow for transporting this mortar, which is done by trailing themselves along on their hinder feet. When they have arrived at the water-side, they take this earth up with their teeth, apply it with their feet, and then plaister it with their tail. The foundation of these dikes is generally about twelve feet thick, diminishing upwards gradually, till at last they come to be only about three feet in thickness, the strictest proportion being exactly observed; the side towards the current of the water is always made sloping, and the other side quite upright.

The construction of their cabbins is equally curious. They are round, about ten or twelve feet in diameter on the flooring, according to the number of inhabitants, and are built on piles, in the middle of the small lakes formed by the dikes, on the bank of a river, or at the extremity of some point that projects into the water. Their roofs are arched like the bottom of a basket; the partitions are two feet thick, and made of the same materials, though less substantial than those in the dike, and the whole is so well plaistered with clay within, that not the least air can enter. The flooring is placed about a foot above the water; but as the upper part runs to a point, the under is much

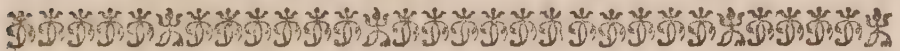


larger than the flooring, which the reader may figure to himself by supposing all the upright posts to resemble the legs of a great A, whose middle-stroke is the flooring; canes, leaves, and small branches of pine-trees compleat this flooring, which has a hole in the middle to go out, at when they please, and into this all the cells open.

There is also in this country a little animal, of much the same nature with the beaver, called the musk-rat. It has almost all the properties of the beaver; the structure of the body, and particularly of the head, is so very like, that the musk-rat might easily be mistaken for a small beaver, were it not for its tail, which is like that of a common rat, and his testicles, which contain a most exquisite musk. They live upon vegetables during the summer; but at the approach of winter conceal themselves in hollow trees, and remain in that state without food, during the whole winter. They build cabbins in form like those of the beaver, but far from being so well executed.

The climate, as has been observed, being intensely cold in winter, and the people manufacturing nothing, shews what the natives want from Europe; wine, spirituous liquors, tobacco, cloths, (chiefly coarse) linen, wrought iron, &c. The Indian trade requires spirituous liquors, tobacco, a sort of duffil blankets, guns, powder and ball, kettles, hatchets, tomohawks, toys, and trinkets. The Indians exchange their peltry for these articles; and the French Indian traders, in the manner of the original

ginal inhabitants, traverse the vast lakes and rivers that divide this country, in canoes of bark, with incredible industry and patience, and carry their goods into the remotest parts of America.



## V I R G I N I A.

**T**HE country, which still bears this name, is now reduced to that tract which has the river Potomack upon the north; the bay of Chesapeak upon the east; and Carolina upon the south. To the westward, the grants extend it to the South-sea; but our planting goes no farther than the great Allegany mountains, which boundaries leave this province in length two hundred and forty miles, and in breadth about two hundred, lying between the fifty-fifth and fortieth degrees of north latitude.

In our account of the first expeditions of the English to America, the history of this colony has been given to the year 1620, when its government was settled, and the colony in a flourishing state, owing to the care of the earl of Southampton, one of the company for attempting new settlements in Virginia, through whose means Sir George Yardley brought with him to Virginia, thirteen hundred men in twenty-eight ships. Negroes were

this year first imported into this colony by a Dutch ship, and new settlements were now formed, in the room of those which had been deserted. The boundaries of James town were marked out; the borders of James and York rivers were peopled, and public and private property was ascertained with precision. A salt-work was also set up at Cape Charles, and iron-works at Falling Creek. Sir George was succeeded in his government, in 1621, by Sir Francis Wyatt, who carried with him from England a fresh supply of people. The market was now so over stocked with tobacco, that the planters were great losers: to remedy which James I. ordered, that no planter should raise above one hundred pounds worth of tobacco, but apply themselves to other manufactures.

At this time the colony was so populous, that the assembly found it necessary to appoint inferior courts for the trial of small causes; but as yet no proper police subsisted for regulating matters between the planters and native Indians, who appeared so tractable and submissive, that the English admitted them into their houses, and they thus became masters of the mystery of fire-arms, the knowledge of which ought to have been carefully concealed from them. Their chief Sachem was at this time Op-pecanough, one of whose favourites had been executed by the English for murdering a colonist; whose death hastened the execution of a scheme which that Prince had long formed for a general massacre of the English, which was fixed to the 22d  
of



of March, 1622. Fortunately some of the natives, who were become converts to Christianity, discovered the conspiracy to one Mr. Pace, a few hours before the time fixed on for its execution, who gave the alarm to his fellow-colonists. The discovery, however, did not reach the remoter plantations time enough to prevent three hundred and thirty-four English from being cut off. The manufacturers near Iron-Creek were all destroyed, except a boy and a girl who concealed themselves, an inexpressible loss to the colony ; for those works never could be restored, and all knowledge of the late discovered lead mines was lost. It also frustrated the project for erecting a glass house at James-town. The planters having recovered themselves, destroyed all the natives who fell into their hands, and drove the remainder into the woods. Even the authority of the government could not put a stop to their revenge : so that after the governor, by promising the Indians peace and pardon, had prevailed with them to return to the cultivation of their lands, the English massacred them, destroyed Oppecancanough's palace, and drove the poor natives from all the cultivated parts of Virginia.

New measures were now pursued for the benefit of the colony, the natives were reinstated in their possessions ; but the tyrannical disposition of the English settlers still continuing, the Indians formed another conspiracy, and massacred all they could meet with. The differences and disputes that prevailed among the colonists, encouraged

the natives in their insurrections; and when Charles I. came to the crown, the English property, in Virginia, was reduced to so low a pass, that his Majesty dissolved the company, and commanded all patents and processes should issue in his own name, reserving a quit rent of two shillings for every hundred acres. The assembly was continued on its former basis, and the government vested in a governor, assisted with twelve council. Sir John Harvey was the first governor after the dissolution of the company; who behaved in such an arbitrary a manner, that the inhabitants, in 1639, sent him prisoner to England; a measure so disagreeable to the arbitrary principles of Charles I. that though the Virginians sent over two gentlemen to support their charge against him, he was reinstated in his government, without their being admitted to an audience; and several planters were sent for to England, and subjected to much inconvenience, by being frequently obliged to attend upon the council-board. But matters growing very serious between that king and his parliament, Harvey was at last removed from his government, and Sir William Berkeley appointed in his place.

These disputes between the governor and the colonists, rendered the English despicable in the eyes of the natives, and encouraged Oppecancanough, a man of uncommon abilities, both of body and mind, to meditate a fresh war. Having complained of many encroachments upon his lands, contrary to the public faith, without the least regard being  
paid

paid to his remonstrances, he ordered his subjects to attack the out-settlements, where they massacred near five hundred English, while he himself cut off those who were settled about York River, near his capital. But advancing in prosecution of his scheme into the English territories, some distance from his own residence, Sir William Berkeley surprised him in Henrico county with a party of horse, and proposed to have sent him to England; but a brutal Englishman wounded him mortally in the back. Though at that time so far advanced in years, that he was unable to move without assistance; yet he behaved with a magnanimity worthy of the greatest heroes of antiquity. Understanding, by means of a servant, that he was exposed to the diversion of the populace, “ Had it been my fortune (said he to Berkeley) to have taken thee prisoner, I would not have exposed thee to the insults of the rabble.”

Berkeley improved this incident, by making a peace with the Indians, who could find none to supply the place of their deceased sachem: but there is reason to believe that the colonists did not make a very warrantable use of their advantages. At the time the civil war broke out in England, the English settlers in Virginia were computed to amount to fifteen thousand, exclusive of women and children; but a fatal difference then arose between the governor and planters: Berkeley, a man of great resolution, sided with the king, and prohibited all intercourse between the Virginians and the  
prevail-



ing party in England, to the infinite prejudice of the colony. Their staple commodity, tobacco, of which vast quantities were at that time taken off in England, lay upon their hands; and though they did not want for provisions, yet being destitute of manufacturers, and the benefits of commerce, they were unable to supply themselves even with tools for agriculture. The English parliament resolved to reduce this colony, as well as the other American plantations, to their subjection. Accordingly, Sir George Ayfcough being sent with a fleet to reduce Barbadoes, detached, agreeable to his instructions, a small squadron, on board of which were some land forces, against this province. The Dutch being then on bad terms with England, Berkeley engaged some of their ships to assist him against this armament; which they did so effectually, that Dennis, who commanded the English squadron, despairing of success, was obliged to have recourse to stratagem. He acquainted the colony, that he had on board a valuable cargo, the property of two leading men of the country, which he would detain if they did not surrender. The interest of the colony directed them to a submission, which Berkeley being unable to prevent, retired to his own plantation; and thus Virginia fell into the possession of the English parliament, which made a very moderate use of its success, and persecuted none of the Virginian Royalists, for their principles or resistance.

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The English parliament appointed colonel Digges to succeed Berkeley in the government, during whose administration nothing remarkable happened. Afterwards, the unsettled state of affairs in England seems to have introduced some confusion into the government of this colony, to which one Mr. Bennet and one Mr. Matthews succeeded, by Cromwell's orders. On the death of Matthews, the people of Virginia applied to Sir William Berkeley to resume the government, who refused to comply, unless the people would stand by him in their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, against the power of the usurpation, which they consented to do, and Charles II. was accordingly proclaimed all over the province; but luckily for them, during these transactions, Cromwell died, and Charles II. was restored. However, Berkeley received no other reward than being continued in his government, and made one of the proprietors of Carolina. Berkeley going over to England, to congratulate the king on his restoration, substituted colonel Morrison in his government, who collected the laws into one body, procured others for the encouragement of manufactures of all kinds, and regulated parish-settlements so well, that the clergy were all comfortably provided for.

The welfare of this colony being at this time a favourite measure with the king, Berkeley had many audiences on this business. In 1662, Sir William returned to Virginia, and procured an act of the assembly for enlarging James Town, by each county build-

building a certain number of houses : a wise provision, had it been followed ; but the planters were so fond of living upon their own estates, that it proved of little effect.

The restoration having taken place, many of the Republicans were, in their turn, banished to Virginia, and their principles gaining ground, almost ruined the colony ; for the servants formed a conspiracy to murder their masters, and usurp the government of the colony themselves. One of the conspirators, named Birkenhead, discovered the plot to the government ; and the conspirators were intercepted by a party of militia-horse, as they were marching towards Poplar Spring, the place fixed on for their rendezvous. Four of the ringleaders were hanged ; and Birkenhead obtained his freedom, with the reward of two hundred pounds. In consequence of this conspiracy, orders were sent from England to build forts, and a citadel, at James Town, for the protection of the government ; but no money being ordered for these purposes, the Virginians forgot their danger, and the measure was neglected, only a small battery of cannon being raised for the protection of James Town.

The government in England, thinking they had a right to all the advantages that could arise from their colonies, enforced the navigation act with rigour, so that no foreign goods could be imported into this colony, unless they were first landed in England ; which raising the price of European goods, and lowering that of tobacco, created great  
discontents



discontents among the Virginians, especially as the planters were undermined, on all occasions, by the people of Maryland, who being under a separate government, undersold them in their tobacco, as they were not bound by any of the acts which the province of Virginia passed for discontinuing the planting of that staple, till its value should rise ; against which opposition of the Maryland planters they remonstrated, to no purpose. A project was adopted in England, to oblige ships trading to this colony to ride under certain forts, to be built upon rivers, which alone were to be deemed the forts of trade, an excellent means for fortifying the province in speculation ; but little regard was paid to it by the planters, who, regardless of every thing but their own interests, carried on their trade in such places as best suited themselves, which weakened the colony ; and during the Dutch war, the enemy frequently insulted its coasts, and sometimes even cut ships out of its harbours. About this time fourteen English, and an equal number of Indians, were sent to make discoveries upon the continent. They travelled several days, under the command of captain Batt, when arriving at a certain boundary, the Indians refused to proceed farther ; asserting, that those nations murdered all strangers.

Upon Batt's return, Berkeley, who still continued governor, resolved to go in person, and improve his discoveries ; but was prevented, by an unexpected rebellion. The insurgents complained of mismanagements in the government, the decay  
of

of their trade, of exorbitant grants, which included the settled property of many people, and the molestation they met with from the Indians; all which they attributed to the severity of the English governor, who paid no regard to the interest or condition of Virginia. Colonel Park, and Mr. Ludwell, secretary of the colony, had been sent to England to petition for redress; but were forced to return, without the least prospect of relief. At length, the depredations committed by the Indians provoked the colonists to demand arms, which the governor refused, thinking it illegal for the people to judge of their own interest; and the governor being slow in his preparations against those savages, colonel Nathaniel Bacon, an agreeable man, of a graceful presence and winning carriage, who had been bred to the law, and had a lively and fluent expression, fit to set off a popular cause, and to influence men who were ready to hear whatever could be said, to colour in a proper manner what was already strongly drawn by their own feelings, by a specious or perhaps real, though ill-judged regard, took up arms, without any commission, to act against the enemy; and being now at the head of near seven hundred men, found himself in a condition to give law to the governor, and forced him to give a sanction, by his authority, to these proceedings.

Bacon, thus armed with the commission of a general, and followed by the whole force of the colony, was preparing to march against the Indians, when

when the governor, freed from the immediate terror of his forces, revoked his commission, proclaimed him a traitor, and issued a reward for apprehending him. This brought matters to extremities. Bacon adhered to what he had done; the people adhered to Bacon: and the governor, not in the least inclined to temporize, fled over the river Potowmack, proclaimed Bacon's adherents traitors, put himself at the head of a small body of troops, which he had raised in Maryland, and of such Virginians as continued faithful to him, and wrote to England for supplies. On the other hand, Bacon marched to James Town, and in his march treated the governor's friends and abettors as rebels, destroying their plantations; by his own authority, and that of four of the council, summoned the assembly, and for six months disposed of all things according to his own pleasure. A civil war seemed now unavoidable, and by this time the colony was almost entirely ruined; for the Indians, taking advantage of the distractions among the English, under pretence of assisting the governor, fell upon the frontiers, gave no quarter to age or sex, and indiscriminately destroyed the plantations of both parties, when all was quieted in a sudden manner, as it had begun, by the natural death of Bacon. The people, unable to act without a head, now proposed terms of accommodation, which Berkeley accepted; and peace was restored and preserved, not so much by the removal of the grievances complained of, as by the arrival of a regiment from England, which



which remained a long time in the country. It must be remarked, in honour of the moderation of the government, that no person suffered in his life or estate for this rebellion ; a circumstance the more extraordinary, as at that time many people were very importunate in soliciting grants of land in Virginia.

Sir William Berkeley, resolving to visit England, appointed Herbert Jeffreys, Esq; deputy-governor ; but died himself, soon after his arrival in his native country. Jeffreys summoned an assembly to meet at Middle Plantation, now called Williamsburgh, and invited the Indians there to treat of a peace, which they joyfully accepted. To render this meeting as splendid as possible, and to impress the Indians with a high idea of the English nation, it was fixed for the 29th of May, the birth and restoration day of Charles II. The princess Pamunke attended at the head of her chiefs, and silence being proclaimed, the articles of peace, which the deputy-governor had drawn up, were read, and explained by interpreters ; and the queen, being admitted within the bar of the court, cheerfully signed them ; the whole ceremony was concluded by a general discharge of all the artillery : after which, her majesty and the Indian chiefs were nobly entertained by the governor, and returned home highly satisfied with their treatment.

The following year deputy-governor Jeffreys died, and was succeeded in his post by Sir Henry Chicheley (lord Colepepper having been appointed

chief governor) who built forts at the head of the four great rivers, in order to curb the Indians; and passed an act for preventing the shipping off tobacco from Virginia, by the people of Carolina and Maryland, to the manifest prejudice of the colony. In 1679, lord Colepepper arrived in Virginia himself, and not only brought over with him a commission for trying Bacon's followers, but also such instructions from the English ministry as unhinged the constitution of the colony, and rendered it wholly dependent on the crown. The assembly, sensible of the vast powers with which he was invested, passed many of his bills without opposition; and he, in return, agreed to those which seemed conducive to the interest of the colony. But instead of resting satisfied with a thousand pounds a-year, the salary usually paid to his predecessors, he prevailed on the assembly to grant him double that sum, besides one hundred and fifty pounds for his house-rent; and as presents of wine, &c. had been generally made to the governor by captains of ships, he obliged every captain to pay him twenty shillings for each vessel under an hundred tons, and thirty shillings for all above that burthen; which imposition has subsisted ever since, though founded on no act of assembly.

As he proposed to make but a short stay in the colony, he determined to make the most of his powers for his own interest: accordingly, the current coin of Virginia being in value far lower than the same pieces in the neighbouring governments, he first

bought up all the light dollars which he could procure at five shillings each, and then raised their value to six by proclamation. But his avarice was disappointed; for though he issued his dollars at the advanced price, and obliged the regiment brought over by Sir John Berry to receive them at that rate, yet in his own salary, his duty on shipping, and other parts of the revenue, he was a considerable loser by those light pieces; and this step occasioned a mutiny among the troops.

Besides this arbitrary proceeding, his lordship daily gave the Virginians fresh provocation, by repealing the acts of assembly, and giving them to understand, that their validity depended alone on his pleasure. His conduct would certainly have occasioned a rebellion, if the common people had not suffered so much lately by Bacon's insurrection, that they had neither ability nor spirit to engage in another: and the governor, in whatever did not concern himself, was always ready to promote the welfare of the colony. However, these considerations did not prevent the assembly from coming to some very vigorous resolutions against his arbitrary measures. On his return to England, he appointed Sir Henry Chicheley deputy-governor, having resided in Virginia not above twelve months. The colony having recovered its late losses, the planters made more tobacco than they could vend, and the poorer sort, perceiving the commodity fall in its value considerably, entered into a combination to destroy their own and their neighbours crops,



crops, which frantic resolution they in part executed; but many of them being apprehended, were tried, and executed for felony.

An incident that now happened gives us an opportunity of animadverting on the arbitrary disposal of American lands by the crown. It is true, the first adventurers being under contract with the government, the crown had a right to insist upon the due performance; but after the lands so discovered were cultivated and settled at their expence, and under those grants, none but themselves could have any property in those lands: yet this obvious maxim of justice was frequently violated, under various frivolous pretences. A large tract of land in Virginia, called the Northern-neck, which had been granted to the earl of St. Albans and other proprietors, was now regranted to lord Colepepper. This tract contained several counties, which had a right to send representatives to the assembly; but the inhabitants being of opinion, that they must suffer by being under a proprietary direction, brought an appeal before the assembly against his lordship's claim. This was a tender point; but to do lord Colepepper justice, he acted in the affair with great equity and caution: and satisfied all the just demands of the former proprietors, though he perceived, that, without some fresh authority from England, he could never bring the assembly over to his views. He therefore fomented a dispute between the assembly and council, by encouraging the assembly to insist upon the sole

right of judging appeals; but represented matters so at home as to procure an order vesting that right solely in the governor and council. However, far from taking any undue advantage of a circumstance so much in his favour, he endeavoured, by every method, to reconcile the inhabitants of the Northern Neck to his proprietaryship, but in vain: for the majority of them carried their complaints before the assembly, and petitioned the king, tho' having no agent in England, without success. At last, finding their cause desperate, they compounded with lord Colepepper, and paid him their quit-rent; and the estate is now in the possession of the Fairfax family, one of whose ancestors married the daughter of lord Colepepper, that nobleman leaving no male heir.

Lord Colepepper omitted nothing that could contribute to the prosperity of the province. He banished from the courts of law the low practices which had long oppressed the suitors, and are a disgrace to the profession; reduced the public expences, especially by demolishing the forts erected by Chicheley, which were found very expensive, and inadequate to the intended purposes, and in their room substituted some troops of light-horse, in order to scour the country, and check the Indians, who were now too much reduced to make any dangerous attempts against the colony. Having, by his own authority, appointed Mr. Spencer resident of the council, in preference to elder members, by which the administration of the colony devolved  
on

on him in the absence of the governor and his deputy, he returned to England, in 1682, and was succeeded by lord Effingham, who is accused of having outdone him in all his arbitrary measures, tho' the province did not receive the like benefits from his administration. Equally mean as imperious, he compelled the clerks and under-officers of his courts to share their fees with him; obliged attornies and schoolmasters to take out licences; introduced exorbitant expences into all testamentary affairs; imprisoned the people by his own authority, without bringing them to a trial; substituted proclamations in the room of laws, and even pretended he could repeal standing laws. The judges, however, paid no regard to these proclamations. In his patent, he had a power of insisting on the quit-rent in money; but by an act of assembly, the planters were allowed to pay it in tobacco, at twopence per pound: when that commodity fell in its value, he by proclamation repealed this law, and demanded the quit-rents, either in money, or tobacco at one penny per pound: a hardship to which the Virginians were obliged to submit, from the express words of the patent. They, however, sent colonel Ludwell to England, as their agent, to petition his majesty for redress of their grievances; but were so far from obtaining any, that upon the accession of James II. the duties on tobacco were increased to such a degree as must have wholly ruined that trade, if other colonies, both Spanish, French, and English, had not discontinued raising that staple.



As the state-house at James Town had not been rebuilt, since it was burnt down by col. Laurence, one of Bacon's officers, the governor prevailed on the assembly to lay a duty on all liquors imported from other colonies, for rebuilding it. He erected a court of chancery, under pretence that he was by his patent invested with a chancery power, in which he sat himself, employed his council as masters in chancery, exacted most exorbitant fees, and wholly set aside the chancery jurisdiction that had always resided in the general court hitherto; who nevertheless resumed it on his lordship's departure for England, which happened soon after the Revolution; when he appointed colonel Nathaniel Bacon, father of the before-mentioned Nathaniel Bacon, resident of the province. During his administration, the project of a college was approved of by the council, and referred to the assembly..

Soon after, Francis Nicholson, Esq; was made deputy-governor; a gentleman well qualified for this post, who formed a plan of government far more liberal and public-spirited than any that the Virginians had ever yet experienced. He resumed the proposed plan for a college, which seemed to have been suspended for want of money, and, by his assistance, twenty five hundred pounds were soon subscribed, and considerable donations received from the Virginian merchants in London. The assembly now drew up an address to king William and queen Mary, praying for a charter to found it, which met with all imaginable encouragement. The Rev. Dr.

Thomas

Thomas Bray was appointed president of the future college, who purchased a handsome library for its use, and engaged several other learned gentlemen as fellows and professors. But the money subscribed being insufficient for the purpose, occasioned a fresh delay: at length, this inconveniency was removed, their majesties, the nobility, clergy, and gentry of England, generously contributing their aid; and the buildings were erected upon a very noble plan drawn by Sir Christopher Wren, with large gardens, and all the conveniences to be met with in similar European institutions, and salaries appointed for the professors, among whom is a master for instructing Indian youths. The college has been since greatly improved, and at present bids fair to be one of the seats of science and the polite arts.

Mr. Nicholson omitted no means to ingratiate himself with his people, encouraged all schemes that were laid before him for improving the colony, and bestowed prizes on such as excelled in athletic exercises; a most excellent policy in a country surrounded by savage nations. But notwithstanding all his endeavours, the Virginians could never be brought to live together in large towns, because every one chose to cultivate the spot of ground that lay most convenient for his own ease and interest. During his government, a cohabitation act indeed passed; but was so far from having effect, that the greatest part of James Town continued in ashes and uninhabited, and no new towns were built. After all, though cohabitation

may be commodious for great traders ; yet many have doubted whether it would contribute to the real interest of the colony, as living separately keeps the price of labour low, and prevents the luxury and vices that prove so destructive to individuals in large cities. He likewise passed several acts for the encouragement of the linen, leather, and other manufactories, and acquired the esteem of the inhabitants, by his affability, and great attention to the interest of the colony.

Lord Effingham being removed from his government in 1692, was succeeded by Sir Edmund Andros, a man extremely obnoxious for his arbitrary behaviour as governor in other American provinces, during the late reigns ; and who, in the public opinion, was thought to deserve capital punishment, instead of being rewarded with the government of Virginia. This extraordinary step can only be accounted for by supposing, that the English ministry was then composed of Tories, as was frequently the case in king William's reign ; and that he possessed abilities for a governor, which he had prostituted only to their interest ; for he was far from being a bad governor of Virginia. As the English merchants and captains of ships disliked the cohabitation act, which in the end would have restricted them to particular ports, Sir Edmund, who arrived in February, brought with him instructions to procure its repeal, in which he succeeded. A patent was laid before the same assembly for making one Mr. Neale postmaster-general of Virginia, and the other American provinces ;



vinces ; but though an act was passed in his favour, the scheme was dropped, it being found impossible to carry it into execution, from the straggling situation of the provincial houses. In the following year a dreadful storm happened, which stopping up some rivers, and opening channels for others, which were even navigable, seemed to reverse the course of nature.

The great objection to his government was, his attempts to reduce the constitution of the province to a nearer conformity with that of England ; which the Virginians strongly opposed, thinking it would lessen the authority of their assembly, whose acts they considered as their best security for their estates. In other respects, Sir Edward was a good governor : he encouraged all kinds of manufactures ; the propagation of cotton ; erected fulling-mills ; regulated the public offices, into which great abuses had crept ; put in order the registers and public papers ; shortened the expence of time in law and commercial proceedings ; and was in a fair way of retrieving his character, when he was recalled in 1697. About this time the English squadron commanded by admiral Neville, which had been in pursuit of the French admiral, De Points, arriving at Virginia, brought with it an infectious distemper, of which the admiral himself died, and most of his principal officers ; which communicating itself to the Virginians, made great havock, especially at James Town. The Whig interest now prevailing in England, Mr. Nicholson, who was

in Maryland, was appointed governor of Virginia, who immediately removed the courts of justice, his own residence, and the seat of provincial business, to Middle Plantation, which he christened Williamsburgh; and laid out the town in the form of a W, perhaps from the low conceit of paying a compliment to the initial letter of that monarch's name, since which James Town is dwindled into an insignificant village. The college had been erected here, and opposite to it the governor now built a stately structure, which he stiled the Capitol, and laid the foundations of many new handsome buildings. All this could not be done without great expence, and the planters, who had no idea of public magnificence, repined at the sums levied; the more, because the crops this year were remarkably short, and their servants sickly; a tax of fifteen shillings having been laid upon every white servant, and twenty upon every negro: and these grievances grew still more insupportable by the war then ready to break out between France and England, and the swarms of privateers that infested the coast.

Among others, in 1700, a French privateer arrived at the mouth of James River, and intercepted some ships bound for London; but a small vessel slipping by him, acquainted captain Passenger, of the Shoreham man of war, who came up with the privateer, and forced him to surrender. About this time a fort was projected at New-York, to be provided with a regular garrison. The people of New-York, unable to bear the expence, represent-

ed by their agents, that as Virginia would be greatly benefited by the said fort, which would secure them against the invasions of the French and Indians, they ought to contribute at least nine hundred pounds towards the expence. Governor Nicholson, being of the same opinion, undertook to carry this affair through the assembly; but he was disappointed in his expectations; for the assembly remonstrated, "That neither the forts then existing, nor any other that might be built in the province of New-York, could in the least avail to the defence and security of Virginia; for that either the French or Indians might invade that colony, and not come within an hundred miles of any such fort." Notwithstanding his ill success in the assembly, the governor, zealous for the good of the province, considering himself, in some measure, answerable for the money, went immediately to New-York, and gave bills for that sum, relying entirely upon the generosity of queen Anne for his indemnification. He was equally generous and public-spirited in every other part of his conduct, having laid it down as a principle, that all the English provinces on the continent of America, ought to be leagued in one common interest, and contribute jointly, according to their abilities, to defend each other against their enemies\*.

About

\* During his government, the Virginians entertaining a notion that prodigious benefits would arise to the province from  
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About this time a war breaking out between France and England, the governor laid an embargo upon the shipping, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Some time after a terrible hurricane happened, which did prodigious damage to the shipping and plantations ; in other respects, Virginia, at this time, experienced a greater degree of tranquility than any of the neighbouring colonies. Mr. Nicholson was recalled in 1704, and succeeded by the earl of Orkney, who held the nominal commission above thirty-six years. In fact, as this province was less exposed than many others to the attacks of the enemy, the ministry, from this time, appropriated twelve hundred pounds of the two thousand granted to the governor, as a pension for some nobleman, whom they could not conveniently provide for otherwise. That this government is such appears plainly ; for the deputy-governor, who resides in the province, has his commission from the crown, under the great seal, the same as the governor, and is invested with the same powers. The earl of Orkney's first deputy-governor was Edward Notte, Esq; during whose administration nothing memorable happened ; except that he prevailed on the assembly to vote a fund for erecting a house for the governor at Williamsburgh. Upon his death, brigadier Hunter was appointed to this post, a gentleman of great abilities, though

the introduction of camels, beasts able to carry twelve hundred weight each, imported several ; but this climate, as well as that of Barbadoes, disagreeing with those animals, the project proved abortive.

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he had no opportunity of distinguishing himself in this government, from whence he was removed to that of Jamaica. He was succeeded by colonel Alexander Spotswood, who thoroughly understood the interests and nature of the Virginians, and being a good mathematician, laid out new plantations and roads, which rendered the province far more commodious and secure than before. Observing the great disadvantage of trading with the Indians, without proper regulations, he formed such as proved of infinite service to the colony ; and raised a fund for educating the children of the Indians, as a means to render them well inclined and useful to the colony.

Tobacco being the staple produce of Virginia, Mr. Spotswood observed, with concern, that through the abuses practised in that trade it had fallen into some disrepute at market ; and as the province must have soon been ruined if these practices had continued, he passed a law, which, though repealed afterwards, was certainly well intended, providing, that all tobacco to be carried from Virginia should be lodged in warehouses, and examined as to its quality and goodness. After the peace of Utrecht, it being thought highly necessary that the Virginians, if possible, should acquire some knowledge of the country beyond the Apalachian mountains, the French having made it a capital maxim in their American policy, to conceal all the country between those mountains and the Mississippi from the English, he resolved to prosecute in person this important

portant discovery. On his return from this expedition he tried eight pirates, who were discovered in the province in the disguise of traders, four of whom were executed. A war breaking out with Spain, a scheme was adopted for raising a great continental English force to attack the western Spanish settlements; and Spotswood was intended to head that important expedition. But a peace being concluded, Spotswood, who had drawn up an excellent plan for that purpose, it was supposed, hurt his interest, by insisting on the practicability of the plan, and requiring, that those he had employed should be indemnified for their expence and trouble; and some of the Virginians themselves, thinking him too conversant in their affairs, practised several low arts to obtain his removal, whence Hugh Drysdale, Esq; was appointed in his room, who arrived in 1723. Spotswood remained in America, and upon the breaking out of the Spanish war in 1739, his project was adopted by government, and orders issued for assembling a great force on the American continent, the command of which was intended to have been conferred on him, had he not died in the mean time. But France entering into the war, and new alterations happening in the affairs of Europe, this expedition was also dropped, that the war might be more vigorously carried on against our natural enemy.

Mr. Gooch, who succeeded Drysdale, bore a great share, in his own person, of the Spanish and French



French war, terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748 \*, during which period this province affords nothing worth recording. Under the government of Mr. Dinwiddie, who behaved with great address and spirit in the late war, Virginia took the lead in alarming the English ministry about the incroachments of the French; and the vigorous measures that were pursued in consequence, terminated, as has been already seen, in the reduction of all the French settlements in North-America, Louisiana excepted, and their cession to the crown of England, by the peace of Paris, in 1763.

### The CLIMATE, SOIL, and NATURAL HISTORY of VIRGINIA.

The whole face of the country is so extremely low towards the sea, that even within fifteen fathom soundings, land can hardly be distinguished from the mast head. However, all this coast of America has one useful particularity; the soundings uniformly and gradually diminish as vessels approach the land, by which the distance from shore may be exactly known. The trees appearing as if they arose out of the water afford a very uncommon, but not disagreeable view. In sailing to Virginia or Maryland, mariners pass a strait between two points of land, called the Capes of Virginia, which opens into the Bay of Chesapeak, one of the largest and

\* See Vol. I. page 513.

safest bays in the world ; and enters the country near three hundred miles from the south to the north, having the eastern side of Maryland and a small part of Virginia on the same peninsula, to cover it from the Atlantic Ocean. This bay is for a considerable length about eighteen miles in breadth, and seven in the narrowest part, the water being nine fathoms deep in most places. It receives through its whole extent, both on the eastern and western side, a vast number of navigable rivers ; from the side of Virginia, James River, York River, Rapahannock, and the Potowmack, not to mention those of Maryland.

All these great rivers in the order set down, from south to north, discharge themselves, with several smaller ones, into the Bay of Chesapeak, and are not only navigable themselves for very large vessels a prodigious way into the country, but have so many creeks, and receive such a number of small and navigable rivers, as renders the communication between all parts of this country infinitely more easy than that of any other in the world. The Potowmack is navigable near two hundred miles, being nine miles broad at its entrance, and for a vast way not less than seven. The other three rivers are navigable above eighty miles, and in their several windings approach each other so nearly, that the distance between one and the other is in some parts not more than ten, nay sometimes five miles ; whereas, in others, the same rivers are fifty miles distant from each other. Hence the planters load  
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and unload vessels of great burthen at their own doors : a very fortunate circumstance, as their commodities are bulky, and of small value in proportion to their bulk ; for else they could never afford to send their tobacco to market at its present low price, charged as it is in England with a duty of six times its original value.

The soil in the low grounds is a dark fat mould, which for many years, without any manure, yields plentiful crops. The soil at a distance from the rivers is light and sandy, sooner exhausted than the low country ; but is yet of a warm and generous nature, and, by the help of a kindly sun, yields tobacco and corn extremely well. There is no better wheat than what this province and Maryland produce ; but the culture of tobacco employing all their attention, they scarcely cultivate wheat enough for their own use.

The heats in summer are excessive, though not without the allay of refreshing sea-breezes. The weather is changeable, and the changes sudden and violent. The winter frosts come on without the least warning : after a warm day, towards winter, so intense a cold frequently succeeds, as to freeze over the broadest and deepest of the great rivers in a night's time ; but these frosts, as well as the rains, are rather violent than of long continuance. Though terrible thunder-storms frequently happen in summer, they seldom do any mischief. In general the sky is clear, and the air thin, pure, and penetrating.



From the above description of the climate and soil, the reader may judge in what excellence and plenty every kind of fruit is produced in Virginia. The forests are full of all kinds of timber-trees, and the plains are covered almost the whole year with a prodigious number of flowers and flowering shrubs, so rich in colour and so fragrant, that they occasioned the name of Florida to be originally given this country. It produces various medicinal herbs and roots, particularly the rattle-snake root, excellent in the pleurisy, and all disorders arising from a viscosity of the blood, and a specific for the bite of that animal; as also the celebrated ginseng of the Chinese.

Horned cattle and hogs have multiplied incredibly, tho' the country was totally destitute of these animals at its first settlement. The animals natural to the country are, deer, which are very numerous; a kind of tigers, bears, wolves, foxes, racoons, squirrels, wild cats, and the opossum, a very uncommon animal, about the size of a cat, which besides the belly common to all other animals, has a false one beneath it, with an aperture at the end, towards the hinder legs. Within this bag, on the usual part of the common belly are a number of teats, upon which, when the female conceives, the young are formed, and there hang, like fruit, upon a stalk, until they grow in bulk and weight to their appointed size; then they drop off, and are received into the false belly, from which they go  
out

out at pleasure, and in which they take refuge, when they apprehend any kind of danger.

The Virginians have all our sorts of tame and wild fowl, in equal perfection with us, and some which we have not ; as also an immense number of birds of various kinds, valuable for their beauty or song. The white owl of this country is much larger than the species which England produces, and is all over of a bright silver-coloured plumage, except one black spot upon his breast ; the nightingale, named after the country, is a beautiful bird, whose feathers are crimson and blue ; the mocking-bird imitates the notes of every other bird, and is judged to excel all in his own song ; the rock-bird, very sociable and agreeable, from the sweetness of his melody ; the humming-bird, the smallest and most beautiful of the whole feathered race, arrayed in scarlet, green, and gold : this bird, supposed to live by sucking the dew that adheres to the flowers, is too delicate to be brought alive to England. The sea-coasts and rivers abound with several of the species of European fish, and with most of those kinds which are peculiar to America. The reptiles are many. It would be tedious to enumerate all the kinds of serpents bred here ; the rattle-snake being the principal, we shall therefore content ourselves with the description of that venomous creature only.

The rattle-snake, when arrived at its full growth, is nearly as thick as a man's leg ; the neck is flat, and very broad ; the head small ; the colour live-

ly, though not dazzling; a pale yellow, with very beautiful shades, is the most predominant. But the most remarkable part of this animal is its tail, which is scaly, like a coat of mail, somewhat flattish, and produces every year a fresh row of scales; thus, the age of the snake may be known by these rows. When it stirs, it makes a rattling noise with its tail, from which it has obtained its name. This animal rarely attacks any passenger who gives him no provocation, but if trod on, certainly bites; and if pursued, folds himself up in a circle, and darts with great force against his enemy. The bite is mortal, if the rattle-snake root, bruised or chewed, a never-failing antidote against its poison, be not immediately applied to the wound, in the nature of a pultice; but happily this poisonous animal is seldom met with. The Indians, however, chase this serpent, and esteem his flesh excellent food.

#### TRADE, GENIUS of the INHABITANTS, &c.

Tobacco, an aboriginal plant in America, of very antient use, though neither so generally cultivated, nor so well manufactured, as since the arrival of the Europeans, is the great staple commodity of this country, as well as of Maryland. When at its full height, it is as tall as a common sized man; the stalk strait, hairy, and clammy; the  
leaves



leaves alternate, of a faded yellowish green, and towards the lower part of the plant very large. The seeds of tobacco are first sown in beds, from whence they are transplanted, the first rainy weather, into a ground disposed into little hillocks, like a hop garden. In a month's time from the transplantation, they become a foot high; they are then topt, and the lower leaves pruned off, and carefully cleared from weeds and worms twice a week; in about six weeks after they obtain their full growth, and begin to turn brownish, by which mark the tobacco is judged to be ripe. The plants are cut down as fast as they ripen, heaped up, and laid all night to sweat; the next day they are carried to the tobacco-house, which is built to admit as much air as is consistent with keeping out rain, where they are hung separately to dry, for four or five weeks, and are then taken down in moist weather, otherwise they would crumble to dust. After this they are laid upon sticks, and covered up close to sweat for a week or two longer; and are then stript and sorted, the top being the best, the bottom the worst tobacco; and are then made up in hog-heads, or formed into rolls. Wet seasons must be carefully laid hold on for all this work, else the tobacco will not be sufficiently pliable.

Traders distinguish two sorts of tobacco; Aranoekoe, from Maryland and the northern parts of Virginia, is strong and hot in the mouth, but sells well in the markets of Holland, Germany, and the North. The other sort is called sweet scent-

ed, the best of which comes from James's and York river, in the southern parts of Virginia. The revenue is obliged to no commodity so much as to this: it produces a vast sum, yet appears to lay but a very inconsiderable burden upon the people of England; all the weight, in reality, falls upon the planter, who is kept down by the lowness of the original price: and as another province deals in the same commodity, if the Virginians were to straiten the market, and raise the price, the people of Maryland would certainly take the advantage of it; as the Virginians, no doubt, would of the Marylanders in a like case. Thus they have no prospect of ever bettering their condition, and are the less able to endure it, as they live, in general, to the full extent of their fortunes; and any failure in the sale of their tobacco, of course, brings them heavily in debt to the London merchants, who get mortgages on their estates, which are consumed to the bone with the canker of an eight per cent. usury. Yet, however the planters may complain of the tobacco trade, the revenue draws near three hundred thousand pounds a-year from this single article; and the exported tobacco, the greater part of the profits of which falls to the share of the English merchant, brings almost as large a sum annually into the kingdom; to say nothing of the great advantage which England derives from being supplied by one of its own colonies with a commodity for which the rest of Europe pays ready money; besides the employment of two hundred large ships, and a proportionable number

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ber of seamen, in this trade. The colony exports annually above forty thousand hogsheads of tobacco, each hogshead containing eight hundred weight. It likewise carries on a large trade with the West-Indies, in lumber, pitch, tar, provisions, &c. and sends to England flax, hemp, iron, staves, and walnut and cedar plank. Their manufactures are so insignificant as not to deserve mentioning ; for the Virginians take every article for convenience or ornament from the mother-country.

The number of white people in this province amounts to about seventy thousand ; so that Virginia is not as populous as might have been expected from so ancient and flourishing a colony ; though the number of inhabitants is every day increasing, by the migration of the Irish from Pennsylvania, who sell their lands in that province to the more frugal and industrious Germans, and take up new ground in the remote counties of Virginia, Maryland, and North-Carolina. A considerable number of French refugees are likewise settled in Virginia ; but the negroe slaves, who cannot be fewer than an hundred thousand souls, as between three and four thousand are annually imported into the two tobacco colonies, are much the larger part of the inhabitants ; and the negroes here rather increase than diminish, from moderate labour, wholesome food, and a healthy climate.

The Virginians are a chearful hospitable people, though vain and ostentatious, and for the greater part members of the church of England. There are some few meeting-houses of Presbyterians and



Quakers ; there being both in Virginia and Maryland, a general toleration for ministers of all persuasions, legally qualified, to officiate in places properly licenced. The country between James River and York River is the best inhabited and cultivated. Lunenburgh, the remotest settlement, is about an hundred miles south-west from Hanover, which is sixty miles distant from Williamburgh, the metropolis.

### COURTS of JUDICATURE.

The frontier or farthest back counties, being of great extent, no navigation, and little foreign trade, hold quarterly county courts only ; all the others have monthly courts : variations happen from time to time. In 1752 they were as follows :

#### QUARTERLY COUNTY-COURTS.

Brunswick,	}	Last Tuesday in March, June,
Fairfax.		September, December.
Lunenburgh.		First Tuesday in January, April,
		July, October.
Frederick,	}	Second Tuesday in February,
Albermarle.		May, August, November.
Augusta.		Fourth Tuesdays in said months.

#### MONTHLY COUNTY-COURTS

Henrico,	}	First Monday in every month.
Richmond,		
Williamburgh.		

James

James City,	}	Second Monday.
Northumberland,		
Nansemond.		
York.		Third Monday.
Prince William,	}	Fourth Monday.
Cumberland.		
Middlesex,	}	First Tuesday.
Elizabeth City,		
Spotsylvania.		
Prince George,	}	Second Tuesday.
King and Queen,		
Northampton,		
Stafford.		
Essex,	}	Third Tuesday.
Gooch-land,		
Princess Ann,		
Surry.		
Louisa,	}	Fourth Tuesday.
Westmoreland,		
Accomack.		
Charles City.		First Wednesday.
Warwick,	}	First Thursday.
Isle of Wight,		
Hanover.		
New Kent,	}	Second Thursday.
Southampton.		
Norfolk,	}	Third Thursday.
Colepepper.		
Gloucester,	}	Fourth Thursday.
Orange.		
Chesterfield,	}	First Friday.
King George,		

Lancaster

Lancaster,	}	Second Friday.
Carolina.		
King William,	}	Third Friday in each month.
Amelia.		

Thus the government is divided into forty-five counties ; six of which hold quarterly courts, and thirty-nine hold monthly courts ; and the laws by which this province is governed, are, as near as possible, conformable to those of England.



## C A R O L I N A.

**T**HE whole coast of North-America was formerly known by the name of Virginia. The province now properly so called, with Maryland and the two Carolina's, was known by the name of South-Virginia. The Spaniards considered it as part of Florida, which they made to extend from New-Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean. But as the country shewed no marks of producing gold or silver, it remained entirely neglected by Europe, until, as we observed in the history of Virginia, Sir Walter Rawleigh projected an establishment there. It was not in the part now called Virginia, but in North Carolina, that the first English settlements were made, and unhappily destroyed.

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Afterwards, the adventurers entered the Bay of Chesapeak, and fixed a permanent colony to the northward. Thus, though Carolina was the first part of the western coast of America which had an European colony, yet, by a strange caprice, it was long deserted by the European nations, who settled, with infinitely greater difficulty, in climates much less advantageous or agreeable; and it was not until the year 1663 that the English formally settled this country, when king Charles II. granted by patent to Edward earl of Clarendon, then lord high-chancellor of England, George duke of Albemarle, William lord Craven, John lord Berkeley, Anthony lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir George Colleton, all that territory in his American dominions from the north end of Lucke island, in the Southern Virginian Sea, and within 36 deg. of north latitude, to the west as far as the South Seas, and southerly as far as the river St. Matheo, bordering on the coast of Florida, within 31 deg. of north latitude, and south-west, in a direct line, as far as the South Seas afore said; with full power to settle and govern the country, together with the usual investiture of fisheries, mines, power of life and limb, &c. Accordingly, these gentlemen had the model of a constitution framed, and a body of fundamental laws compiled, by the celebrated philosopher Locke; by which the lords proprietors themselves stood in the place of the king, gave their assent or dissent to all laws, appointed all officers, and bestowed all titles

ties of dignity. A palatine was to be chosen out of the proprietaries, who was to hold that post during life, and was to be succeeded by the eldest of the other proprietaries. This palatine was to act as president of a court, composed of himself and three other proprietors, who were vested with the execution of the whole powers of the charter: each member was authorised to nominate a deputy, who might act for him in Carolina, but according to his directions. They appointed also two other branches, in a great measure analogous to the old Saxon constitution. They made three classes of nobility: the lowest, composed of those who had grants of twelve thousand acres of land, were to be called barons; the next order were to possess twenty-four thousand acres, or two baronies, with the title of caciques, and were to answer our earls; the third were to possess two caciqueships, or forty-eight thousand acres, and were to be entitled land-graves, a title in this province analogous to that of duke. This body was to form the upper-house, and their lands were not to be alienable by parcels. The lower-house was to be formed, as in the other colonies, of representatives from the several towns or counties; and the whole was not to be called an assembly, as in the rest of the plantations, but a parliament; which was to sit once in two years, oftener, if necessary.

To make this government approach still nearer to the antient feudal constitution, the white inhabitants, from sixteen to sixty years of age, if called  
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upon by the grand council, were obliged to take the field with proper arms. Every planter was to pay annually one penny per acre quit-rent to his proprietary; and each county was to have a sheriff, and four justices of the peace. All free persons who came over, were to have fifty acres of land for themselves, fifty for each man-servant, and as many for each woman servant who was marriageable, and forty for each of either sex who was not marriageable; and every servant, after the expiration of his or her servitude, was to be deemed free, and be intitled to fifty acres, subject only to the above quit-rent. But the proprietaries, in all their leases, carefully excepted all mines, minerals, and quarries of precious stones, as well as when the colonists bought off their quit-rents, which many of them did.

Though the proprietors expended twelve thousand pounds in attempting to settle their grant, the province owed its establishment to the humane disposition of that excellent man who formed the model of their government, which allowed an unlimited toleration to people of all religious persuasions, whereby a great number of dissenters, whom the government at home treated with more rigour than was consistent with justice or good policy, were induced to transport themselves, with their fortunes and families, into Carolina. About 1670, colonel William Sayle was appointed by the lords-proprietors governor of the province. At this time, the lands about Albemarle and Port-Royal rivers, being most convenient for trade, were the  
most



most frequented; but the colonists soon learned, from experience, that pasturage and agriculture were necessary for their establishment; whence Ashley and Cooper Rivers drew thither such numbers, that the country thereabouts soon became the best inhabited part of the colony. In 1671, captain Halstead arrived with a supply of provisions of all kinds from the proprietaries in England, who created James Carteret, Sir John Yeomans, and John Locke, Esq; landgraves. Some deviations were made about this time from the original constitutions. The number of landgraves and caciques required by the original constitution to constitute the upper-house not being to be found, a governor was nominated by the palatine, whose council was to consist of seven deputies of the proprietaries, as many chosen by the parliament, and an equal number of the eldest landgraves and caciques; to whom were added, (all nominated by the proprietaries) an admiral, a chamberlain, chancellor, chief-justice, secretary, surveyor, treasurer, high-steward, register of births, burials, and marriages, register of writings, and marshal of the admiralty. The quorum of the council was to consist of the governor and six of the members, three of whom were to be proprietary-deputies; and the parliament was to be composed of the governor, the deputies of the proprietaries, ten members to be chosen by the freeholders of Berkeley county, and ten by those of Colliton county; but the number of those representatives

sentatives was to be increased, in proportion to the growth of the colony.

On the decease of the duke of Albemarle, the first palatine, the earl of Craven succeeded to this post, in 1671, when the above temporary laws were enacted. The proprietors now seem to have conceived very sanguine expectations of the colony; for they ordered captain Halstead to sail up Ashley river to make discoveries, and sent over the model of a magnificent town, to be built upon a point of land between Ashley and Cooper rivers, as the metropolis of the province, to be named Charles Town. The promising aspect of the colony invited over many of the old cavalier principles, and others, whose libertine manners gave great offence to the original planters, who were chiefly dissenters. These new settlers gaining a majority in one of the assemblies, by attempting to exclude all dissenters, produced a kind of civil war in the colony, and hindered it, for many years, from making that progress which might have been expected from its great natural advantages. Sir John Yeomans succeeded colonel Sayle as governor; but the disorders of the colony still increased, the people fell into disputes of no less violent a nature with the lords-proprietors\*; and provoking the Indians, by a series of unjust actions, gave occasion

\* The two parties often came to blows with each other, and one Culpepper was sent prisoner to England by the governor; and tried for high treason in Westminster-hall, for raising a rebellion in Carolina; but was acquitted,



to two Indian wars, in which however they were at last victorious, and subdued almost all the Indian nations within their limits, on this side the Apalachian mountains.

To remedy these disorders, the proprietaries appointed colonel West governor, a wise, moderate, and courageous man, who, at his accession to the government, found great licentiousness prevailing, party disputes at a great height, and the Indian war still raging : however, by siding with the popular party, (for the proprietaries, in the exercise of their power, had deviated greatly from the original constitution) he healed the public divisions so much, that the colony united in repelling the Westoes, an Indian nation, which had committed great ravages. In 1682, he held a parliament in Charles Town, where several good laws passed ; particularly, an act for settling the militia. These, and other popular acts of the governor, displeasing the lords-proprietaries, West was removed from his government, and succeeded by Joseph Moreton, Esq;

The differences between the Indians and the colony still continuing, the proprietaries issued a commission to Maurice Matthews, William Fuller, Jonathan Fitz, and John Boon, Esqrs. to hear and determine all differences between both parties ; which was soon dissolved, the commissioners being accused of unfair practices. Notwithstanding these discouraging disorders, three counties, viz. Berkeley, Craven, and Colliton, were laid out. Mr. Moreton, during his short govern-

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ment,



ment passed several excellent acts for the benefit of individuals, as well as of the colony ; but he was soon removed, and Sir Richard Kyrle appointed in his room, who survived his nomination but a few months ; in consequence of which, Mr. West was again made governor, whose administration was of vast service to the colony, by bringing over many industrious planters, most of whom were dissenters. Lord Cardross, a Scotch nobleman, settled at Port Royal, with ten Scotch families ; but disagreeing with the government, returned home, and the settlement came to nothing. West was succeeded by James Colleton, Esq; one of the proprietaries, whose government was so unpopular, that the representatives of the people thwarted every measure he proposed, even to settling the militia, on which their own safety depended. Disputes about tenures and quit-rents still continuing, in 1687 he called a parliament, in which he and his party substituted, in the room of the original constitutions, other articles, under the title of standing laws and temporary laws ; a proceeding equally disagreeable to both proprietaries and planters ; so that Mr. Colleton was not only obliged to quit his government, but the province also. The administration seems now to have been put into the hands of gentlemen of the greatest interest in the colony, without any intention of their being continued ; colonel Quarry, Mr. Southwell, colonel Ludwell, and Mr. Smith, were successively governors. The last, finding it impossible to gratify the people in all their demands,

mands, in 1694, ingenuously informed the proprietaries, that it was impossible to settle the country, except one of the proprietaries was sent over with full power to redress their grievances. Upon which, lord Ashley, eldest son to the earl of Shaftesbury, was pitched on for this purpose; but he declined accepting the government, which was conferred on Mr. Archdale, to whose printed account of Carolina the public is chiefly indebted for its information concerning this province.

Mr. Archdale arrived in August 1695, furnished with very ample powers, and immediately called a parliament, in order to redress the grievances of the colony, in which, with good management and patience, he at last succeeded so well, that the assembly voted him an address of thanks. He was succeeded by Joseph Blake, Esq; a proprietary, nephew to the famous admiral Blake. Many inconveniences having accrued from a strict adherence to the letter of the original constitutions, a set of forty-one articles, signed by the proprietaries, under the title of the last fundamental constitutions, were sent from England, which allowed a liberty of conscience as amply as the former; but were never confirmed by the assembly. Mr. Blake was a man very well qualified for administration; for, though a dissenter, such was his moderation, that he prevailed with the assembly to settle one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, for ever, on the clergyman of Charles Town, with a good house, a glebe, and two servants. Upon his death, in 1700, the



the deputies of the proprietaries in Carolina, in consequence of their powers in such cases, chose the eldest landgrave, Joseph Moreton, Esq; who had been governor before; whose election was objected to as injurious to the proprietaries, because he had accepted of a commission from the king to be judge of the admiralty, though he had before accepted of a like commission from them. A most ridiculous objection, as no admiralty jurisdiction was expressed in the original patent; yet Mr. Moore, his competitor, had interest enough to get the election set aside, and himself chosen, without Moreton's receiving the least redress.

The earl of Bath, son to the late earl, was now palatine, an enthusiast to the church of England, whose great ambition was to establish that worship in the colony, exclusive of all others; a doctrine at that time enforced in England by the bill against occasional conformity. Moore was quite pliant to his views; but was disappointed by the assembly, in an attempt he made to get the Indian trade into the hands of the government, which he therefore dissolved. Towards the latter end of the year 1701, he called a new assembly, and, according to his enemies, so influenced the sheriff, that strangers, servants, aliens, nay, mulattoes and negroes, were polled, and returned; complaints of which, and many other abuses in his office, were sent to the palatine, but no redress obtained; perhaps the charges against him were aggravated.



Upon the accession of Philip V. a war between England and Spain seemed inevitable; and the Carolinians were firmly of opinion, that the Spaniards in Florida were usurpers upon their original charter; a notion of great service to Moore in promoting a scheme he formed, for engrossing to his government and himself the profits of the slave-trade, by selling, in the British islands, the Spanish Indians, at a less price than negroes could be imported for from Africa. He accordingly, to avoid an enquiry into his own conduct, proposed an expedition against St. Augustine; but as war was not yet declared against Spain, the motion was thrown out of the assembly. But though the opposition was very strong, he soon obtained a majority, and defeated every attempt for having the last fundamental constitutions agreed to by the assembly, which produced fresh remonstrances against his government.

In all probability, Moore could not have got the better of the dissenting interest, had he not been befriended by the palatine, the proprietaries, and the war with Spain, which gave him a handle for renewing his project against St. Augustine. The wealthy planters, in vain, remonstrated against the inability of the province to undertake such an expedition; the assembly voted two thousand pounds for this service. Six hundred Indians were immediately raised, and colonel Daniel was sent up the river with a party in boats, to make a descent upon the land side, while the governor attacked the place

by sea. At first success crowned their arms : they defeated the Spanish Indians, and killed or took prisoners about six hundred of them. They next plundered the town of St. Augustine, as they had already done all the open country ; but the inhabitants had retired with their best effects to the castle, which was well fortified, and contained provisions for four months. The English being unprovided with bombs and mortars, and having a very considerable train of artillery, could only blockade the place, until they should receive a supply from Jamaica, for which purpose, a sloop was dispatched thither ; but the commander of it proving dilatory, colonel Daniel, on whose abilities the success of the expedition seems wholly to have rested, went himself to Jamaica, and procured the necessary stores for the siege.

During his absence, two Spanish ships appeared in the offing of St. Augustine, which struck Moore, who had lain there three months, with such a panic, that he raised the siege, burnt his ships, (though some say, they fell into the hands of the Spaniards) and made a precipitate retreat ; and Daniel, on his return to St. Augustine, with great difficulty escaped being taken. Thus Moore shamefully abandoned a certain conquest : for the two Spanish ships were only frigates, one of twenty-two, the other of sixteen guns ; and had he continued the siege a little longer, the place must have infallibly surrendered.



Moore got safe to Carolina, after a long fatiguing march by land, which he conducted in a very unsoldier-like manner ; yet, which is very extraordinary, the English lost no more than two men in this laborious expedition. The Carolinians were greatly dispirited with the bad success of the expedition ; especially, as it had entailed upon them a debt of six thousand pounds. When the assembly met, the lower-house passed a bill for the better regulating elections, which the governor and council, who wanted to raise money to pay off the provincial debt, disdainfully rejected. The assembly consisted of but thirty members, fifteen of whom entered a protest against the governor's proceedings. In short both parties seem to have been in fault ; the governor, with some of his riotous friends, insulted the protesters in the most gross manner ; and the latter wanted to evade the payment of the provincial debts.

At last, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, governor of the Leeward Islands in the reign of king James, who had afterwards retired to Carolina, was appointed governor ; but he acted upon the principles of the late governor, Moore, who was appointed attorney-general, and one of his creatures, Trott, chief justice of the common-pleas, then a post of vast power in the province. Notwithstanding the black colours in which the dissenters have represented Moore, it ought to be remembered, that the colony of Georgia chiefly owes its birth to him. In



1703 he marched against the Spanish Apalachians, eight hundred of whom he killed or took prisoners, with Don Juan Mexia, their commander ; in consequence of which, the whole province of Apalachia submitted, and he transported from thence to the country now called Georgia, fourteen hundred Apalachians, who put themselves under the protection of the English crown.

The remonstrances of the Carolinians, against the riotous proceedings encouraged and abetted by the governors Moore and Johnson, and their illegal practices in procuring returns to be made to the house of representatives, met with a very cold reception in England ; and the assembly meeting in Carolina, a bill, in express violation of the fundamental constitution, was passed, for the more effectual preservation of the government, requiring all persons elected members of the common house of assembly, to conform to the church of England, and receive the sacrament, according to the rites and usage of the said church. Thus all dissenters were disqualified, though legally elected, from sitting in the assembly, and the candidate who had the next majority of votes was to be admitted. The dissenters, alarmed at this illegal oppressive act, instructed Mr. Ash, their agent, to represent their grievances to lord Granville, which he did ; but died before he saw any effect of his representations : indeed his lordship, from his temper and principles, was very unlikely to afford them relief.

The dissenters were thus left without redress ; and, to compleat their grievances, a bill passed, signed by the governor and deputies, for establishing religious worship in this province, according to the church of England ; and for the erecting churches, for the public worship of God ; and also for the maintenance of ministers, and the building convenient houses for them : and commissioners were appointed to see the act put into execution. In consequence of this act, many oppressive things were done by the government of Carolina against the dissenters ; and, at last, the merchants trading thither petitioned lord Granville for its repeal. A board of proprietaries was, with great difficulty assembled ; but notwithstanding all the representations of Mr. Archdale, who was himself a proprietary, and Mr. Boone, agent for the dissenters, no redress could be obtained. The bill, however, was of such pernicious consequence to the colony, that the lower-house passed a vote for repealing it ; but the governor dissolved them. Representations signifying nothing, Mr. Boone, by the assistance of the Carolina merchants in London, carried an application into the house of lords for the relief of the Carolinians ; where the matter was fully debated ; and the house being of opinion, that the proprietors had forfeited their charter, addressed the queen in behalf of the colonists, who referred the matter of the petition to the commissioners of trade and plantations ; and their opinion coinciding, the attorney and solicitor-general were



were ordered to proceed against the proprietors by *quo warranto*. At length, in 1728, the lords proprietors, making a virtue of necessity, accepted seventeen thousand five hundred pounds for their property and jurisdiction, together with five thousand pounds due to them from the province; except earl Granville, who kept his eighth, which comprehends near half of North-Carolina, on that part which immediately borders on the province of Virginia: and this surrender was confirmed by an act of the British parliament, whereby the province was put under the immediate care and inspection of the crown. The constitution, in those points where it differed from other colonies, was altered; and the country, for the more commodious administration of affairs, divided into two distinct independent governments, called North-Carolina and South-Carolina.

Colonel Johnson was succeeded in the government by major Tynte; to whom succeeded Gibbs, Craven, Daniel, Johnson, and Moore, during whose governments nothing material happened. In 1718, Francis Nicholson, Esq; was governor, during whose time the province was terribly harassed by pirates. In 1722, four Indian nations sent deputies to make peace with the English; who were well received, and in return owned themselves subjects of Great-Britain.

The province being now under the immediate protection of the crown; by the assistance received from England, the Indians were expelled, and  
forced



forced to accept of equitable terms of peace \* ; and Robert Johnson, Esq; was appointed governor by the crown, who arrived in Carolina in 1731, and brought over with him a considerable present for the chiefs of the Cherokees, to confirm them in their good disposition towards the crown of Great-Britain. The Cherokee chiefs being invited to Charles Town, were received in the most brilliant manner, and ratified a treaty approved of by the assembly, with the utmost cordiality. Unfortunately, the Virginians and Carolinians pursued separate interests among the Cherokee traders; and the Carolinians frequently complained that the Virginians underfold them. Mr. Johnson did all in his power to remove every grievance.

\* It being judged necessary to bring over the Cherokee Indians, from whom the province had most to apprehend, to the English interest, Sir Alexander Cumming, a native of Scotland, undertook this arduous task; and on the first of March, 1729, arrived at Keowee, distant about three hundred miles from Charles Town. Learning from an English trader, that the Lower Creeks had invited the Cherokees to join the French interest, he, without loss of time, repaired to the house where near two hundred of the Cherokee chiefs were assembled, and was by them received with the greatest marks of respect. He then requested a general meeting of the nation, to confer with him at Nequassee, on the third of April following. In the interim, he travelled a vast way into their country, was every where received with the greatest cordiality, and upon his return to Nequassee, the Cherokees solemnly swore allegiance to the king of England, and made Sir Alexander the compliment of receiving from his hands Moyty, one of their head-men, as chief of all their nation; and presented him with their sovereign diadem, together with

grievance. On the 25th of August 1732, he had an interview with Mingo-be-Mingo, a Chickesaw chief, attended by eight men and two women, with two Natchee Indians, who, in his speech to the governor, whom he called father, said, "He had undertaken a very long journey to see him; that he hoped the path between them would never be shut up; that in his way thither one of his men was killed by the Cherokee Indians, allies to the English; that he was sent down by the other head men of the nation to receive a talk from him; and that he would faithfully carry it back." The governor made the best apology he could for the Cherokees, and understanding that the Chaetaws were at variance with the Chickesaws, on account of their friendship to the English, presented Mingo with

with five eagles tails, and four scalps, requesting him to lay them at the feet of his majesty. Moyty would have attended him to England himself, had not his wife been very dangerously ill; and sent the head warrior of the Tepetchees, and other chiefs, to England with Cumming, where they arrived at Dover, on the 5th of June, 1730. They were presented to the king, beheld all the magnificence of the English court, and bore witness to the truth of Sir Alexander's speech, when he declared the submission of their nation to the crown of England. But this idle pageantry was soon forgot by them; for the Indians do not seem to have the least idea of any grandeur of government out of the verge of their own country. They received no benefit from their subjection, whatever might have been the motive; nor was any care taken after Mr. Johnson's government, to keep up our interest among them, though it might have been done at a very trifling expence.



twelve cags of gunpowder, and twenty-four bags of bullets ; and the two Natchee Indians, and his attendants, with a coat, gun, and hat each ; and, after recommending a good understanding between the Nactees and Chickesaws, and advising the latter to demand satisfaction of the Cherokees in a friendly manner, dismissed them, highly satisfied with their treatment. The province of Georgia was planned during the time of this governor, who published an advertisement in the Carolina gazette for subscriptions towards its establishment ; gave a most hospitable reception to him, upon his first arrival at Charles Town, in his way to Georgia ; and procured a vote of the general-assembly for furnishing him, at the public expence, with an hundred and four head of breeding cattle, twenty-five hogs, and twenty barrels of rice ; and, exclusive of small craft for their conveyance, ordered the scout-boats, with ten rangers \*, under the command of captain Macpherson, to attend him, in order to protect the new settlers from any insults. The governor, at the same time, recommended the infant colony to all the friendly Indians, and would have accompanied Mr. Oglethorpe himself, had not the assembly been sitting : however, at his request, colonel Bull, a gentleman extremely conversant in those affairs, went to Georgia, where he was of infinite service to Mr.

\* Rangers, in Carolina, are light-horsemen, kept in pay to discover the motions of the Indians.

Oglethorpe.



Oglethorpe. Before this time, we find the Carolinians were at war with the Yamassee Indians ; and with a hundred whites, and as many Indian allies, attacked the Yamassee village, killed thirty-two of its inhabitants, with a friar, and drove both the Spaniards settled there, and the Yamassees, into St. Augustine, which they blockaded, and demanded the Yamassees to be delivered up to them. The governor refused to comply with this demand, asserting, the Yamassees were subjects of Spain ; but offered to make good whatever damage the English had received. Whereupon the Carolinians retreated, after lying three days before the town. This Indian war brought a considerable expence to many individuals, who very justly complained of the extravagant grants made by the proprietaries to the landgraves and caciques, by which those who had defended the province against the Spaniards and Indians, were prevented from making any advantageous settlements at the original quit-rents. The attorney-general, and solicitor-general, in England, gave their opinion against the validity of these exorbitant grants ; and the dispute was at last ended, by an act of assembly to remedy the grievance.

The situation and fertility of Carolina, with the interest the crown took in its prosperity, now rendered it a most flourishing province. In 1732, Mr. Purry, a native of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, entered into a treaty with the English government for settling, with Switzers, the spot where lord Carcross had heretofore made a small settlement, which  
he

he abandoned, as has been already mentioned. An hundred and seventy-two Swiss accordingly arrived, and in a few months built upon the northern bank of the river Savannah a new town, called Purrysburgh, where they were soon joined by more of their countrymen. In consequence of a very laudable scheme for raising a barrier of hardy industrious people on the southern frontier of South-Carolina, the assembly voted Mr. Purry four hundred pounds for every hundred effective men he should import, and promised to find provisions and tools for three hundred of them for one year. Purry, in 1734, brought over two hundred and seventy more of his countrymen; so that above six hundred Swiss were now settled at Purrysburgh.

To defray this expence, the crown remitted to the assembly the negroe-duty. A noble scheme for the benefit of the colony was about the same time recommended to the governor by his majesty. Eleven new townships were to be established, to consist each of twenty thousand acres of land, laid out in a square plat; fifty acres, part thereof, to be granted to every inhabitant at his first settling; and that land might not be wanting for the conveniency of the inhabitants as their substance increased, no person was allowed to take up any land within six miles of the said townships, respectively. At the same time, forty-eight thousand acres were granted to Mr. Purry, for the use of the six hundred Swiss whom he had imported. Some mismanagement, however, having crept into  
the



the new Swiss plantation, the government issued a proclamation informing the public, that no grants would pass of any lands in any of the townships laid out in this province, but to those only in whose names the original warrant was made out, and who should settle there.

In 1735, soon after this proclamation, governor Johnson died, and was succeeded by Thomas Broughton, Esq; The English government, at this period, was too negligent in the appointment of American governors, who, in general, being men of ruined fortunes, were sent to retrieve them in America, and the fortifications were in a deplorable condition in this, as well as in the other provinces; the legislature of Great-Britain, then at peace both with France and Spain, neglecting the means of obliging the colonists to contribute towards their own defence. However, this mismanagement did not damp the zeal of the Protestant Swiss and Vaudois; and the latter, accustomed to the manufacture of silk in their own country, understanding that Carolina was proper for the culture of silk worms, still continued, as well as the Swiss, to flock there; so that, in a few years, another foreign town, called Wilton or New London, rivalled Purrysburgh. This competition was of some detriment to the province; the foreigners in general complaining, that the terms upon which they settled in the province were not fulfilled. The government of England having now determined to subdivide the great American



American provinces, Carolina was divided into two distinct governments, viz. South and North Carolina.

Nothing further occurs in the history of Carolina, till the government of Mr. Glenn, excepting the common share the province took in the war between Great-Britain, France, and Spain. In 1752, South-Carolina was in so thriving a condition, that upwards of sixteen hundred foreign protestants arrived in the colony. On the 26th of May 1753, Malachty, attended by the Wolf king, the Otafee king, with about twenty chiefs, and upwards of an hundred Creek Indians, came to Charles Town, escorted by three troops of horse, by the governor's order; to whom his excellency made a speech, in their own manner, to persuade them to ratify their treaties with the English, and make peace with the Cherokees, then under our protection, some of whom had been murdered by the Creeks, even in the neighbourhood of Charles Town, and expressed his desire, that there might be a good understanding among all the Indian nations in alliance with the English. Malachty made a present of skins to his excellency, and accounted for the conduct of his people towards the Cherokees, and the other English Indians; and, upon the whole, promised every thing which the governor required, excepting an alliance with the northern Indians; which, he said, was a matter of so great consequence, that he and his nation must deliberate upon it. In consequence

sequence of this interview, four hundred Cherokees and Creeks joined the English forces after the taking of Oswego.

In 1759, during the government of William Henry Lyttleton, Esq; the French in Louisiana, by their insinuations, prevailed upon the Cherokees to attack the English and their Indian allies, many of whom they plundered and scalped. Mr. Lyttleton having received information of these outrages, raised, with great expedition, a considerable body of forces, and penetrated, at their head, in the beginning of October, into the heart of the country of the Cherokees, who were so much intimidated by his vigour and dispatch, that they sent a deputation of their chiefs to sue for peace, which was re-established by a new treaty, dictated by the English governor, at Fort Prince George, where he then was, at the head of eight hundred militia, and three hundred regulars \*. However, this submission was only to avoid the storm that seemed  
ready

\* Treaty of peace and friendship, concluded by his excellency William Henry Lyttleton, Esq; captain-general and governor in chief of his majesty's province of South-Carolina, with Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter, deputy of the whole Cherokee nation, and other head men and warriors thereof, at Fort Prince George, Dec. 26, 1759.

ARTICLE I. There shall be a firm peace and friendship between all his majesty's subjects of this province, and the nation of Indians called the Cherokees; and the said Cherokees shall preserve peace with all his majesty's subjects whatever.

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ready to break upon them. Mr. Lyttleton had scarce quitted their country, before they attempted to surprize Fort Prince George, where the Indian hostages were lodged, who, not being very strictly guarded, had found means to form a conspiracy with their countrymen for massacring the garrison, and getting possession of the fort.

This attempt was conducted in the following manner: On the 16th of February, two Indian women

II. The articles of friendship and commerce concluded by the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, with the deputies of the Cherokees, by his majesty's command, at Whitehall, the 7th of September, 1730, shall be strictly observed for the time to come.

III. Whereas the said Cherokee Indians have at fundry times and places, since the 19th of August 1758, slain divers of his majesty's good subjects of this province; and his excellency the governor having demanded that satisfaction should be given for the same, according to the tenor of the said articles of friendship and commerce aforementioned, in consequence whereof two Cherokee Indians, of the number of those who have been guilty of perpetrating the said murders, have already been delivered up, to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of, as his excellency the governor shall direct; it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that twenty-two other Cherokee Indians, guilty of the said murders, shall as soon as possible, after the conclusion of the present treaty, be delivered up to such persons as his excellency the governor, or the commander in chief of this province for the time being, shall appoint to receive them, to be put to death, or otherwise disposed of, as the said governor and commander in chief shall direct.

IV. The



women appearing on the other side of the river, Mr. Dogharty, one of the officers of the fort, went out to converse with them. While he was engaged in conversation, Ouconnostotah joining them, desired he would call the commanding officer, to whom, he said, he had something to propose. Accordingly, lieutenant Cotymore appearing, accompanied by ensign Bell, Dogharty, and Foster, the interpreter, Ouconnostotah told him, he had something of consequence to impart to the governor, whom

IV. The Cherokee Indians, whose names are herein after-mentioned, viz. Chenohe, Oufanatanah, Tallichama, Tallitah, Quarrafattahe, Connasaratah, Kataetoi, Otassite of Watogo, Oufanoletah of Jore, Kataeletah of Cowetche, Chisquatalone, Skiagusta of Sticoe, Tannaesto, Wohatche, Wyejah, Oucachistanah, Nicholche, Tony, Toatiahoi, Shallisloske, and Chistie, shall remain as hostages for the due performance of the foregoing articles, in the custody of such persons as his excellency the governor shall please to nominate for that purpose; and when any of the Cherokee Indians, guilty of the said murders, shall have been delivered up, as is expressed in the said articles, an equal number of the said hostages shall forthwith be set at liberty.

V. Immediately after the conclusion of this present treaty, the licensed traders from this government, and all persons employed by them, shall have leave from his excellency the governor, to return to their respective places of abode in the Cherokee nation; and to carry on their trade with the Cherokee Indians, in the usual manner, according to law.

VI. During the continuance of the present war between his most sacred majesty and the French king, if any Frenchman shall presume to come into the Cherokee nation, the Cherokees shall

he purposed to visit; and desired he might be attended by a white man as a safeguard. The lieutenant assuring him that his request should be granted, the Indian said, he would then go and catch a horse for him; swung a bridle thrice over his head, as a signal, and immediately near thirty muskets, from different ambuscades, were discharged at the English officers. Mr. Cotymore received a shot in his left breast, which in a few days proved fatal; and Mr. Bell and the interpreter were both wounded. Ensign Mill, who remained in

use their utmost endeavours to put him to death, as one of his majesty's enemies; or, if taken alive, they shall deliver him up to his excellency the governor, or the commander in chief of this province for the time being, to be disposed of as he shall direct; and if any person whatsoever, either white man or Indian, shall, at any time, bring any message from the French into the Cherokee nation, or hold any discourses there in favour of the French, or tending to set the English and Cherokees at variance, or interrupt the peace and friendship established by this present treaty, the Cherokees shall use their utmost endeavours to apprehend such person or persons, and detain him or them, until they shall have given notice thereof to his excellency the governor, or to the commander in chief for the time being, and have received his directions therein.

Given under my hand and seal, at Fort Prince George, in the province of South-Carolina, this 26th day of December 1759, in the thirty-third year of his majesty's reign,

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTLETON, (L. S.)

By his excellency's command,

WILLIAM DRAYTON, Secy.

We

in the fort, directly ordered the soldiers to shackle the hostages, in the execution of which order, one man was killed upon the spot, and another wounded upon the forehead with a tomahawk ; so that it was judged absolutely necessary to put all the hostages to death. Ignorant of this catastrophe, in the evening, a party of Indians approaching the fort, and firing two signal pieces, cried loud, in the Cherokee language, “ fight manfully, and you shall be assisted,” and continued firing all night upon the fort, without doing the least execution : thus failing in their scheme, they revenged themselves on the open country, burning and ravaging all the plantations in these parts, and butchering all who fell into their hands. Soon after, they assaulted Fort Ninety-six ; from whence, however, they were repulsed. The Creek Indians, hearing of the Cherokee hostilities, took the field against the enemy, under one

We whose names are underwritten, do agree to all and every of these articles ; and do engage for ourselves and our nation, that the same shall be well and faithfully performed. In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals, the day and year above mentioned.

ATTAKULLAKULLA, (L. S.)

OUCONNOSTOTA, (L. S.)

OTASSITE, (L. S.)

KITAGUSTA, (L. S.)

OCONNOECA, (L. S.)

KILLCANNOKCA, (L. S.)

*Joseph Axon, William Forster, sworn Interpreters.*

Witness. *Henry Vane, adjutant-general.*



of their chiefs, called the Long Warrior. Seven hundred rangers were raised by the people of Carolina ; and the governor applied for assistance to general Amherst, commander in chief in America, who forthwith detached twelve hundred chosen men to South-Carolina, under the command of colonel Montgomery. The colonel, immediately after his arrival at Charles Town, proceeded to Twelve-mile River, which he passed in the beginning of June, without opposition ; and continued his rout by forced marches, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of an Indian town, called Little Keowee, where he encamped. Having reason to believe the enemy were not apprised of his coming, he resolved to rush upon them in the night, by surprize. With this view, leaving his tents standing, with a sufficient guard for the camp, he marched through the woods, towards the town of Estatoe, at the distance of twenty-five miles ; and, in his rout, detached a company of light infantry to destroy Little Keowee, where they were received with a smart fire ; but rushing in with their bayonets, the Indians were all slain. The main body reached Estatoe in the morning ; but found the place deserted. Some few Indians, who had not time to escape, were killed ; and the town, consisting of two hundred houses, well stored with provisions, ammunition, and all the necessaries of life, was plundered, and reduced to ashes. It was necessary to strike a terror into these savages, by some acts of severity ; and the soldiers became deaf to all the suggestions

suggestions of mercy, when they found, in one of their towns, the body of an Englishman, whom they had put to the torture that very morning. Colonel Montgomery followed his blow with surprising rapidity ; in the space of a few hours he destroyed Sugar Town, which was as large as Estatoe, and every village and house in the Lower Nation.

The Indian villages were agreeably situated, generally consisting of about one hundred houses, neatly and commodiously built ; and had large magazines of corn, which were consumed in the flames. All the men that were taken suffered immediate death ; but the greater part of the nation had escaped, with the utmost precipitation. In many houses the beds were yet warm, and the tables spread with victuals ; the Indians not having time to save their arms, and valuable effects. Having thus taken vengeance on the perfidious enemy, at the expence of five or six men killed or wounded, he returned to Fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children, whom he had made prisoners.

As Attakullakulla, who had signed the last treaty, disapproved of the proceedings of his countrymen, and had done many good offices to the English since the renovation of the war, he was now acquainted, by means of two of their warriors who were set at liberty, that he might come down with some of his chiefs, to treat of an accommodation, which would be granted on his account ; but that the negotiation must be begun in a



days, otherwise, all the towns in the Upper Nation would be ravaged, and reduced to ashes\*. Attakullakulla declaring, that he could not prevail on his countrymen to accept the offered mercy, colonel Montgomery resolved to make a second eruption into the middle settlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the 24th of June. On the 27th, captain Morrison, of the advanced party, was killed by a shot from a thicker, and the firing became so troublesome that his men gave way. The grenadiers and light-infantry being detached to sustain them, continued advancing, notwithstanding the fire from the woods, until, from a rising ground, they discovered a body of the enemy, whom they immediately attacked, and obliged to retire into a swamp, which, when the rest of the troops came up, they were compelled to abandon, after a short resistance. At length, the troops arrived at the town of Etchowee, which the inhabitants had abandoned. Here, while the army encamped on a small plain surrounded with hills, it was incommoded by the enemy, who wounded some men, and killed several horses; and were even so daring as to attack the piquet-guard, which repulsed them with difficulty; but declined coming to an open engagement. Colonel Montgomery, sensible, that as many horses were killed or disabled, he could not proceed further without leaving his provisions be-

\* Attakullakulla, called the Little Carpenter, was one of the chiefs who had been brought when young to England, by Sir Alexander Cumming.



hind, or abandoning the wounded to the brutal revenge of a savage enemy, retreated in the night, that he might be the less disturbed by the Indians, and pursued his rout, for two days, without interruption; but afterwards sustained some straggling fires from the woods, though the Indians were put to flight as often as they appeared. In the beginning of July he arrived at Fort Prince George, having lost about seventy men in this expedition. In revenge, the Cherokees blockaded Fort Loudon, near the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconsiderable garrison, ill supplied with provisions and necessaries. The garrison, after a long siege, being reduced to the utmost distress, having subsisted for a considerable time without bread, on horse-flesh, and seeing no prospect of relief, their communication having been long cut off from all the British settlements, capitulated with the Indians, and obtained permission to retire\*; the Indians desiring,

\* Articles of capitulation agreed upon and assented to by captain Paul Demere, commanding his majesty's forces at Fort Loudon, and the head-men and warriors of the Overhill Cherokee towns.

ART. I. That the garrison of Fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums; each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for the march, and what baggage he may chuse to carry.

II. That the garrison be permitted to march for Virginia, or Fort Prince George, as the commanding officer shall think proper, unmolested; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and to hunt for provisions on their march.

III. That

desiring, that when they arrived at Keowee, the Cherokees confined at that place should be released, a lasting accommodation be established, and a regulated trade be revived. In consequence of this treaty, the garrison evacuated the fort; but on their march were surrounded and surprized by a large body of Indians, who massacred all the officers, except Captain Stewart, and also twenty-five soldiers: the rest were made prisoners. Captain Stewart owed his life to the generous intercession of Attakullakulla, who ransomed him, at the price of all he could command, and conducted him safe to Holston River, where he found major Lewis advanced with a body of Virginians. The Indians, encouraged by their success, now undertook the siege of Fort Ninety-six, and other small fortifications; but retired precipitately, at the approach of a body of provincials. The people of Carolina,

III. That such soldiers as are lame, or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they recover, and then to be returned to Fort Prince George.

IV. That the Indians do provide the garrison with as many horses as they can conveniently, for their march, agreeing with the soldiers or officers for payment.

V. That the fort, great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians, without any fraud, on the day appointed for the march of the troops. Signed,

OUCONNOSTATA †, his mark.

PAUL DEMERE.

CUNIGACATGOAE †, his mark.

appre-

apprehensive that the Creeks and Chactaws would join the Cherokees, addressed their governor, to prevail with general Amherst to countermand the return of the regulars from thence, understanding that colonel Montgomery's orders were, after having chastised the enemy, to return to New-York, with the troops under his command, and rejoin the grand army. The colonel was under a necessity of obeying his orders ; but, at the earnest intreaties of the province, left four hundred men for its protection.

In the beginning of July the following year, colonel Grant, at the head of two thousand six hundred men, marched from Fort Prince George, to ravage the country of the Cherokees with fire and sword. On his march he was attacked by a body of Indians, who fired for some time with great vivacity, but little effect, and were soon repulsed. Meeting with no opposition in traversing their country after this attempt, he reduced fifteen of their towns to ashes, besides villages, destroyed all the standing corn, and drove the Indians to starve in the mountains. This severe chastisement produced the desired effect : a deputation of the chiefs waited on the colonel, and signified their desire to accept a peace, willingly agreeing to all the colonel's terms, except one, by which four Cherokees were to be put to death at the head of the army ; but this article being moderated, a new treaty was actually concluded, on the 10th of December, at Charles Town, in every other respect, nearly the same as that of 1759 ; and Sir William Johnson made  
a tour



a tour round the other Indian nations, in order to quiet the fears of the Indians, aroused at the conquests of Great-Britain; which the French emissaries had fomented, with their usual industry and success.

North-Carolina was at first governed by captain Hyde, Sir Richard Everard, and captain Barrington; but its history is so barren of events, as to afford nothing worth recording. The governors, indeed, received their salaries; but the police of the province was so neglected, that no provision was made for the clergy; even marriages being solemnized by justices of the peace. At present, the province seems emerging from its difficulties; and the government becoming more attentive to the colony in proportion as it has been more settled, by degrees, matters have been better regulated, and it now bids fair to become a valuable country.

### The CLIMATE, SOIL, and NATURAL HISTORY of the two CAROLINAS.

These two provinces, lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of latitude, are together upwards of four hundred miles in length; and in breadth, to the Indian nations, near three hundred. The climate and soil do not differ considerably from those of Virginia; but where they differ, it is much to the advantage of Carolina, which, on the whole, is one of the finest climates in the world: the heat in summer

mer is, indeed, greater than in Virginia; but the winters are milder and shorter, and the year, in all respects, does not come to such violent extremities. However, the weather, though in general serene, and the air healthy; yet, like all American weather, is subject to such quick changes, and those so sharp, as to oblige the inhabitants to be more cautious in their dress and diet than Europeans generally are. Thunder and lightning happens frequently, and Carolina is the only English colony on the continent which is subject to hurricanes; but they are very rare, and nothing near so violent as those of the West-Indies. Part of March, all April, May, and the greatest part of June, are inexpressibly temperate and agreeable; but in July, August, and the greatest part of September, the heat is intense; and though the winters are sharp, especially when the north-west wind blows, yet they affect only the mornings and evenings, being seldom severe enough to freeze any considerable water; so that many tender plants, which do not stand the winter of Virginia, flourish in Carolina; oranges, both sweet and sour, being in great plenty near Charles Town, and both excellent in their kinds; and olives seem rather neglected by the planter, than denied by the climate. The vegetation of every kind of plant is incredibly quick; for there is something so kindly in the air and soil, that where the country wears the most barren and unpromising appearance, if neglected for a while, of itself, it shoots out an immense quantity of those  
various



various beautiful flowering-shrubs for which this country is so famous.

Carolina is in general a plain country, though every where interspersed with gentle risings ; the whole country is in a manner one forest, where the planters have not cleared it. The trees are much the same with those in Virginia, and by their different species the quality of the soil is easily discovered ; for the grounds which bear the oak, the walnut, and the hickory, are extremely fertile : they consist of a dark sand, intermixed with loam ; and as here all the land abounds with nitre, it is a long time before it is exhausted ; the planters never using any manure. The pine-barren is the worst of all, being an almost perfectly white sand ; yet it bears naturally the pine-tree, which yields good profit in pitch, tar, and turpentine. When cleared, this kind of land, for two or three years together, produces tolerable crops of Indian corn and pease, and, when flooded, answers well for rice ; besides, happily for the province, this worst species of its land is favourable to one of the kinds of indigo, the most valuable of its products. There is another sort of ground which lies low and wet, upon the banks of some of the rivers, called swamps, which though in some places in a manner useless, in others, is far the richest of all their lands : these grounds consist of a black, fat earth ; and bear rice, the great staple of this province, which requires in general a rich moist soil, in the greatest plenty and perfection. The country near the sea is much the worst ;



worst ; most of the land thereabouts being a species of the pale, light, sandy-coloured ground, what is otherwise being little better than an unhealthy, unprofitable, salt marsh : but the country, as one advances further from the sea, improves gradually, and an hundred miles beyond Charles Town, where it begins to grow hilly, the soil is prodigiously fertile, the air pure and wholesome, and the summer heats much more temperate than in the flat country ; for eighty miles from the sea is all an even plain, not a hill, a rock, scarce a pebble, being to be met with. Wheat grows extremely well in the back country, and yields an immense increase : in the other parts of Carolina but little is raised, it being apt to mildew, and spend itself in straw ; and these evils the planters take very little care to redress, turning their attention to the culture of rice, which is much more profitable ; and are supplied from New-York and Pennsylvania with what wheat they want, in exchange for this grain.

The land is every where very easily cleared, there being little or no underwood ; their forests consisting chiefly of great trees, at a considerable distance asunder ; so that a man could clear more land in a week here, than in the forests of Europe he could do in a month. The usual method is to cut the trees at about a foot from the ground, and then saw them into boards, or convert them into staves, heading, or other species of lumber, according to the nature of the wood, or the demands at the market : if they lie too distant from a navigable river,

river, they are heaped together, and left to rot. The roots soon decay; and, before this happens, little or no inconvenience is found from them, where land is so plenty.

The aboriginal animals of this country are, in general, the same with those of Virginia; but there is a still greater variety of beautiful fowls. All European animals are in plenty here; black cattle have multiplied amazingly. It was a very extraordinary thing, about fifty years ago, to have above three or four cows; now, several planters have a thousand, and some in North Carolina, a great many more. These ramble all day in the forests; but their calves being kept in fenced pastures, the cows return every evening to them, are then milked, kept all night, milked in the morning again, and afterwards let loose. The hogs, which are vastly numerous, range in the same manner, and like them return, by having shelter and victuals provided for them at the plantation. Besides, the woods contain many wild cattle, horses, and swine, though, at its first settlement, none of these animals existed in the country.

In the two provinces, there are ten navigable rivers, of a very long course, which receive innumerable smaller ones in their courses, and all abound in fish. About fifty or sixty miles from the sea, most of the great rivers have falls, which become more and more frequent in proportion as one approaches nearer their sources; as is the case with almost all the American rivers.



At these falls the traders land their goods, carry them beyond the cataract in horses or waggons, and then reship them, above or below the fall.

Charles Town, the capital of South-Carolina, is one of the first cities in North-America, for size, beauty, and commerce. Its situation at the confluence of two navigable rivers, is admirably well chosen. The harbour is good in every respect, except that of a bar, which prevents vessels of above two hundred tons from entering. The city is regularly and pretty strongly fortified, both by nature and art; the streets are well cut, the houses large and well built, and let for high rents. The church is spacious, and the architecture in good taste, exceeding every thing of the kind in North-America. The town contains about eight hundred houses, and is the seat of the governor, and the place where the assembly meets. The planters and merchants are rich and well bred, and several handsome equipages are kept in this city. Like the Virginians, the people here are vain, gay, and expensive, in their dress and way of living; so that every thing conspires to render Charles Town the liveliest and politest place, as well as the richest, in all British America.

## N O R T H - C A R O L I N A.

Port Royal, the best harbour in this province, is far to the southward, on the borders of Georgia. It is capable of receiving the largest fleets, both with respect to number, bulk, and burthen, with



the utmost safety; yet the town named Beaufort, built upon an island of the same name, is not yet considerable, though it bids fair for becoming, in time, the first trading town in this part of America.

The mouths of the rivers in North-Carolina form but indifferent harbours, and, except one at Cape Fear, do not admit vessels of above fourscore tons; so that larger ships are under a necessity of lying off in a sound, called Ocacock, formed between some islands and the continent. This lays a weight upon their trade, by the expence of lighterage; upon which occasion partly, though principally because the first settlements were made as near as possible to the capital, which lies considerably to the southward, North-Carolina was neglected, and for a long time was ill inhabited, and by an indolent and disorderly people, who had hardly any law or government, to protect them in what little they had. As commodious land grew scarce in the other colonies, people in low circumstances were induced to settle in this colony, where a great deal of excellent and convenient land remained yet to be patented; and the government becoming more attentive to the province as it became more valuable, by degrees, a better order was introduced; in consequence of which, North-Carolina, though by no means so wealthy as its sister province, has many more white people; things begin to wear a face of settlement, and, with proper management, the trade of this province, which even now is far from being contemptible, may become a flourishing

ing and useful branch of the British American commerce.

Edenton was formerly the capital of North-Carolina, if a trifling village can deserve that appellation; but the late governor, Mr. Dobbs, projected one further south, upon the river Neus, which, though more central, is by no means equally well situated for trade; a circumstance that ought always to be principally regarded in the colonies. However, none of the towns deserve notice; the conveniency of inland navigation, and the want of handicraftsmen, in all the southern provinces, is almost an insuperable obstacle to their ever having considerable ones.

#### TRADE, GENIUS of the INHABITANTS, &c.

The trade of Carolina, besides lumber, provisions, &c. in common with the rest of America, consists in three staple commodities, indigo, rice, and the produce of the pine tree, viz. turpentine, tar, and pitch. South-Carolina produces the two former commodities; the latter is the staple of North-Carolina.

Rice alone antiently formed the staple of South-Carolina: this wholesome grain makes a great part of the food of all ranks in the southern parts of the world. Whilst the act of navigation obliged the Carolinians to send all their rice first to England, there to be reshipped for the markets of

Spain and Portugal, the charges in consequence of this regulation lay so heavy upon the trade, especially in time of war, when greatly aggravated by the rise of the freight and insurance, that rice hardly answered the charges of the planter; but the legislature now permits them to send their rice directly to any place to the southward of Cape Finisterre, which prudent indulgence has again revived the trade; and though the Carolinians have gone largely into the profitable article of indigo, they raise now above double the quantity of rice they raised some years ago; and this branch of their commerce alone is worth, at least, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling annually.

Indigo, probably so called from India, where the plant was first cultivated, and from whence, for a considerable time, the Europeans had all that they consumed, is very like fern, when grown, and when young, scarcely distinguishable from lucerne: the leaves in general are pennated, and terminated by a single lobe; the flower consists of five leaves, and is of the papilionaceous kind, the uppermost petal being larger and rounder than the rest, and lightly furrowed on the side, the lower ones short, and end in a point; in the middle of the flower the stile is situated, which afterwards becomes a pod, containing the seeds.

Three sorts of indigo are cultivated in Carolina: first, the French or Hispaniola indigo, which striking a long tap root, will only flourish in a deep rich soil; and therefore, though an excellent sort, is

not



not so much cultivated in the maritime parts of Carolina, which are generally sandy: the back counties are capable of producing it in perfection; but the plant is so tender, that it hardly bears the winter of Carolina, on which account it is neglected.

The false Guatimala, or true Bahama kind, bears the winter better, is a taller and more vigorous plant, is raised in greater quantities from the same extent of land, will grow in the worst soils in the country, and is therefore more cultivated, though inferior in the quality of its dye.

The wild indigo, being a native of the country, answers the purposes of the planter best of all, with respect to its hardiness, easy culture, and the quantity of its produce. The quality admits of some dispute; nor can the planters yet certainly tell, whether to attribute the faults of their indigo to the nature of the plant, to the seasons, which have great influence upon it, or to some defect in the manufacture.

Indigo is generally planted after the first rains succeeding the vernal equinox; the seed is sowed in small strait trenches, about eighteen inches asunder, at least; the plant, when full grown, is generally eighteen inches in height, and is fit for cutting in the beginning of July. Towards the end of August it is cut a second time; and, if the autumn proves mild, is cut a third time at Michaelmas. The ground must be weeded frequently, and the plants cleared from worms every day; the planta-

tion requiring the utmost care and diligence. About twenty-five negroes will manage a plantation of fifty acres, and compleat the manufacture of the indigo, besides providing their own necessary subsistence. If the land be very good, each acre yields sixty or seventy pounds weight of indigo; at a medium, the produce is fifty pounds. The plant is fit for cutting when it begins to blossom; when cut, the manufacturer must be extremely careful not to press or shake it in carrying to the steeper, as the beauty of the dye greatly depends upon the fine farina that adheres to the leaves.

The apparatus for this manufacture is pretty considerable, though not very expensive; the whole consisting only of a pump, vats, and tubs, of cypress, a wood both common and cheap in this province. The plant, when cut, is first laid to macerate in a vat, about twelve feet long and four deep, to the height of about fourteen inches. This vessel, called the steeper, is then filled with water: the plant having been thus macerated about twelve or fourteen hours, according to the weather, begins to ferment, rise, and grow sensibly warm: at this time spars of wood are run across, to prevent its rising too much, and a pin is set to mark the highest pitch of its ascent: when the liquor sinks below this mark, the fermentation having now attained its due pitch, and beginning to abate, the operator lets off the liquor, by a cock, into another vat, called the beater: the remaining gross matter is taken away to manure the ground, for which use  
it

it is excellent, and new cuttings are put in, as long as the harvest of this plant continues.

This liquor, strongly impregnated with the particles of the indigo, is incessantly beat, and agitated with a sort of bottomless buckets, with long handles, until it heats, froths, and rises above the rim of the vessel which contains it: to allay this violent fermentation, oil is thrown in, which instantly sticks it. When this beating has continued from twenty to thirty-five minutes, according to the state of the weather, (for in cool weather the longest beating is required) a small muddy grain begins to be formed. To discover these particles the better, and in order to judge when the liquor is sufficiently beaten, some of it is, from time to time, taken up in a glass. When it appears in a proper state, some lime water is poured into it, and the whole gently stirred, which wonderfully facilitates the operation; the liquor assumes a purple colour, the indigo granulates more fully, and the whole is troubled and muddy. It is now suffered to settle; the clearer part is now left to run off into another succession of vessels, from whence the water is conveyed away as fast as it clears at top, until nothing remains but a thick mud, which is put into coarse linen bags, which are hung up, until the moisture is entirely drained off. To compleat the drying, this mud is worked upon boards of some porous wood, with a wooden spatula, and is frequently exposed to the morning and evening sun, though but for a short time only; and then, being put into



boxes or frames, is again exposed to the sun, in the same cautious manner, until the operation is finished, and that valuable drug called indigo fitted for the market. The greatest skill and care is required in every part of the process, or there is great danger of spoiling the whole ; nothing but experience can teach the exact medium to be observed in every particular.

The goodness of indigo may be tried by fire, and by water. If it swims, or if it wholly dissolves in water, it is good ; if it sinks, it is bad ; the heavier the worse : if it entirely burns away, it is good ; the adulterations remain unconsumed.

Perhaps in no branch of manufacture can so large profits be made, upon so moderate a capital, as in that of indigo ; nor can the manufacture be carried on in any country with greater advantage than in Carolina, where the climate is healthy, provisions plentiful and cheap, and every thing necessary for the purpose procured with the greatest facility. The Carolinians have not neglected these advantages ; and if they go on with the same spirit, and attend diligently to the quality of their goods, they must, of course, supply the whole world with this commodity, and make their country the richest, as it is already the most fertile, part of the British dominions.

Great quantities of turpentine, tar, and pitch, are made in North-Carolina : all are the produce of the pine tree. Turpentine is drawn from incisions made in the tree, from as great a height as a man can reach, with an hatchet, which meet at the bot-

tom

tom of the tree in a point, from whence the turpentine runs into a vessel, placed to receive it: this is the whole process. Tar requires a more considerable apparatus, and great trouble: a circular floor of clay, declining a little towards the center, is necessary, from which a pipe of wood is laid, the upper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference; under the end the earth is dug away, and barrels are placed to receive the tar. Upon this floor is built up a large pile of pine wood, split in pieces, and surrounded with a wall of earth, a small aperture being left at the top, where the fire is first kindled. When the fire begins to burn, this opening is likewise covered, to prevent the fire from flaming out, and to leave only sufficient heat to force the tar downwards to the floor. The heat is tempered at pleasure, by running a stick into the earthen wall, and thus admitting air. Pitch is made by boiling tar in large iron kettles, set in furnaces, or burning it in round clay holes, made in the earth.

The import-trade of the Carolinas from Great-Britain and the West-India islands is very large, and in every respect the same with that of the other colonies. Their trade with the Indians is likewise in a very flourishing state. The nature and prodigious increase of the exports of South-Carolina may be discerned from the following comparative view, which shews what great improvements this colony has made in a few years; indeed, from its natural advantages, there is scarce any improvement of which this excellent province is not capable, if properly managed.

Ex-

Exported from CHARLES TOWN.

In 1731.

Rice,	41,957	barrels.
Indigo,		
Deer-skins,	300	hogsheads.
Pitch,	10,750	barrels.
Tar,	2,063	ditto.
Turpentine,	759	ditto.
Beef, pork, &c. not particularized.		

In 1754.

Rice,	104,682	barrels.
Indigo,	216,924	pounds.
Deer-skins,	460	hogsheads.
	114	bundles.
	508	loose.
Pitch,	5,869	barrels.
Tar,	2,945	ditto.
Turpentine,	759	ditto.
Beef,	416	ditto.
Pork,	1,560	ditto.
Indian corn,	16,428	busshels.
Pease,	9,162	ditto.
Tanned leather,	4,196	barrels.
Hides in the hair,	1,200	
Shingles,	1,114,000	
Staves,	206,000	
Lumber,	395,000	feet.

Besides a great many live cattle, horses, cedar, cypress, and walnut plank, bees-wax, myrtle, and some raw silk and cotton.

North-



North-Carolina, reputed one of the least flourishing of our colonies, certainly lay under great difficulties; but is much improved within a few years. The consequence of this inferior province appears, by the following view of its exports, which is sufficiently exact to enable the reader to form a proper idea of the state of its commerce.

Exported from all the Ports of NORTH-CAROLINA,  
in 1753.

Tar,	61,528	barrels,
Pitch,	12,055	ditto.
Turpentine,	10,429	ditto.
Staves,	762,330	in number.
Shingles,	2,500,000	in number.
Lumber,	2,600,647	feet.
Corn,	61,580	bushels.
Pease,	10,000	ditto.
Pork and beef,	3,300	barrels.
Tobacco, about	100	hogsheads.
Tanned leather, about	1,000	cwt.
Deer-skins,	30,000	

Besides a very considerable quantity of wheat, rice, bread, potatoes, bees-wax, tallow, candles, bacon, hogs-lard, some cotton, and a vast deal of squared walnut and cedar timber, hoops, and headings of all sorts.

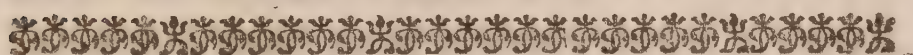
Some indigo also is raised; but the quantity cannot be ascertained, as it is all exported from South-Carolina. A much greater quantity of tobacco

bacco than has been mentioned is also raised in this province ; but being produced on the frontiers of Virginia, is chiefly exported from thence. This province exports too, a considerable quantity of beaver, racoon, otter, fox, mynx, and wild cats skins, and in every ship a good many live cattle, besides what are sold in Virginia.

Both the Carolinas have made frequent, but not sufficiently continued, efforts towards the cultivation of cotton and silk. The excellent quality of their produce of this kind affords great encouragement to proceed in a project, which has not been prosecuted with that zeal which its importance certainly deserves, considering how well the climate is suited to these valuable productions. Silk indeed requires more trouble, and a closer attention, than even indigo ; nor will a premium alone suffice to set on foot, with vigour, a manufacture in any country where the price of manual labour is dear ; a circumstance which must long be an impediment to the growth of raw silk in Carolina, (though no part of the world is fitter for the business, and none could be so advantageous to England) unless some well contrived, and vigorously executed scheme be set on foot for that purpose ; a matter worthy the most serious consideration of the British legislature.

The paper-currency of South-Carolina amounted, some years ago, to two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, and that of North-Carolina to fifty-two thousand pounds. A very inconsiderable

erable quantity of English money circulates in either province ; the current cash consisting almost wholly of Spanish dollars and pistoles.



## G E O R G I A.

**T**HE tract of land lying between the Savannah river and the river Alatamaha, which undoubtedly belonged to England, lying waste and unsettled, a scheme was formed for rendering it a barrier, to protect our southern colonies against the Spaniards and Indians. The government also had in view to raise wine, oil, and silk ; and to turn the industry of these new colonists from the timber and provision trade, which the other colonies had gone into too largely, to channels more advantageous to the public.

Accordingly, the whole country which lies between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, north and south, and from the Atlantic ocean on the east, to the Great South Sea on the west, was, on the 9th of June 1732, vested in trustees for twenty-one years, at the expiration of which period, the property, in chief, was to revert to the crown. This country extends about sixty miles from north to south, near the sea ; but, in the inland parts, widens to above one hundred and fifty : from the

sea



sea to the Apalachian mountains, the distance is near three hundred miles.

The trustees being empowered to collect benefactions for fitting out colonists, and supporting them till their houses could be built and their lands cleared, not only received large contributions for this purpose from the bank of England, the nobility, gentry, &c. but the parliament also granted them ten thousand pounds. These liberalities enabled them to supply with working tools, stores, and small arms, above one hundred poor labouring people, who offered themselves by the beginning of November following, and were immediately sent over, under the care of Mr. Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, who generously bestowed his own time and pains, without the least reward, for the advancement of the settlement. The new settlers arrived, in good health, at Charles Town, the 15th of January, 1733, where they were received by governor Johnson, and the Carolinians in general, with great marks of affection and humanity, and were presented by the assembly with an hundred breeding cattle, twenty five hogs, and twenty barrels of rice ; and being furnished with a party of horse-rangers and scout-boats, soon reached the river Savannah safely, about ten miles up which river Mr. Oglethorpe fixed upon a spot for founding their new town, which he named, after the river, Savannah, originally inhabited by a nation called Yamacraw, of which Tomo Chichi was chief. The situation of the town was pleasant and healthful ; and the

the new settlers being generously assisted by the Carolinians, not only with their purses but their labour, in raising Savannah, great numbers of pines were soon cut down, and the land cleared, and sown with wheat.

The trustees reflecting, that many of our colonies, especially South-Carolina, had been much endangered, both internally and externally, by suffering the negroes to exceed the whites so greatly in number, thought an error of this kind inexcusable in a colony which was not only to defend itself, but intended to be a barrier to the others ; and therefore prohibited the importation of negroes into Georgia, that the planters might be inured to an habit of industry. Besides, the introduction of negroes so near a Spanish garrison, would have facilitated the desertion of the Carolinian negroes to St. Augustine. In the next place, observing what great mischiefs arose in other settlements from vast grants of land, which the grantees either jobbed out again, to the discouragement of settlers, or, what was worse, suffered to lie uncultivated ; to avoid this mischief, and prevent the people from becoming wealthy, which, in their opinion, was inconsistent with the military plan upon which this colony was founded, they resolved, in laying out their towns, to assign but twenty-five acres to each inhabitant ; and none could come to possess more than five hundred, by any means, according to the original scheme. Neither were these lands granted in fee-simple, or to the heirs-general of the settlers, but

were

were inheritable only by their male issue. The importation of rum was also prohibited, to prevent the great disorders which were observed to happen in other colonies, from the abuse of spirituous liquors.

The Lower Creek nation, consisting of eight confederated tribes, hearing of this new colony, sent a numerous deputation, composed of their kings and warriors, to treat of an alliance with it. Mr. Oglethorpe gave them audience in one of the new houses; and at this meeting they gave sufficient proof, that they were far from being so ignorant of their natural rights as some Europeans imagine. Queekachumpa, in the name of the Lower Creek nation, claimed all the lands from the river Savannah as far as St. Augustine, and up Flint river, which falls into the Bay of Mexico. He then acknowledged the superiority of the English; and said, that the great power, whose immensity he endeavoured to express by extending his hands and lengthening his words, had sent the English thither for the good of his nation; and that therefore they were welcome to all the land which they did not use themselves. He confirmed this speech by laying eight buck-skins, the best things, he said, his nation had to bestow, before Mr. Oglethorpe; and thanked him for his kindness to Tomo Chichi, who, with some of his friends, had been banished from his own nation, but, for his valour and wisdom, had been chosen king by the Yamacraws, and had been relieved by the English. As soon as he had done speaking, Tomo Chichi entered, and returned



turned thanks in person for the favours he had received. The articles of agreement were then drawn up, and signed ; which contained, as usual, stipulations for liberty of trade, reparations of injuries, and that the English should possess all the lands not used by them, though, at the laying out every town, a certain portion should be allotted for their use ; and that all runaway negroes should be restored to the English, who agreed to pay a stipulated reward for each negroe. After having kindly entertained them, Mr. Oglethorpe presented each of the kings with a laced coat, a laced hat, and a shirt ; each of their chiefs with a gun ; and their attendants with a duffil blanket, and some other trifling things ; and then dismissed them, highly satisfied with their treatment.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, Mr. Oglethorpe returned to Charles Town, in order to embark for England. During his absence, the fame of the new colony reached the Natchez, who likewise made an alliance with the inhabitants of Georgia. In the middle of May a ship arrived at Savannah with passengers and stores, the captain of which received the reward that had been promised for the first ship that should be unloaded at that town, and soon after another arrived with fifty families ; so that the whole of this embarkation amounted to six hundred and eighteen, including women and children : and in March, 1734, from the general state of the trustees accounts, it appeared, that they had received towards settling the province, fourteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-two pounds,

twelve shillings, and three-pence; and expended eight thousand two hundred and two pounds, sixteen shillings, and sixpence.

In 1734, Mr. Oglethorpe arrived in England, and brought with him Tomo Chichi, his wife Lenawki, his son Tooanahowi, a war captain, and five chiefs of the Creek nation, with their interpreter, who were introduced to his majesty at Kensington, by whom they were received graciously; and Tomo Chichi, presenting him with some eagle's feathers, made the following speech, which we insert as a further specimen of the Creek eloquence: "This day I behold the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the numbers of your people. I am come for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace they made long ago with the English. I am come over, in my old days, though I cannot live to see any advantage to myself: I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and Lower Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are the feathers of the eagle, the swiftest of birds, and who flies all round our nations: these feathers are, in our land, a sign of peace; and we have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a sign of everlasting peace. Great king! whatsoever words you shall speak unto me, I will tell them faithfully unto all the kings of the Creek nation."

During their residence in England, the government omitted nothing that seemed capable of striking them with the most awful ideas of the English

English power and magnificence; but from experience we find, that the Indians are but slightly impressed with any ideas that are not familiar to them. However, Tomo Chichi gave uncommon proofs of his sagacity; and pointed out many particulars of great service to the English; as well as the Indians. He requested, that the weights, measures, prices, and qualities of the English goods, might be settled; and, to prevent impositions, that there should be but one storehouse in every Indian town; which proposals the trustees thought so reasonable, that they were immediately ratified, after having been referred to the board of trade for their approbation.

On the 30th of October, 1734, Tomo Chichi, and his chiefs, with their attendants, embarked at Gravesend for their own country, having had an allowance, during their residence here, of twenty pounds a week, of which they spent but little, being generally invited every day to the tables of persons of the highest distinction. Besides this allowance, they received presents to a very considerable value upon their departure. The ship in which they took their passage, carried over likewise a number of German protestants from Saltzburg, who, with others of their countrymen who afterwards arrived, were settled at a spot on the Savannah, where they built a town, called Ebenezer, which, by their industry and sobriety, soon became a considerable settlement. About this time, the colony was alarmed with a report, that the Spaniards in-



tended to attack it. Tomo Chichi professed a great desire to oppose the enemy in person; but his affairs not permitting him, sent three of his chiefs. The rumour proving groundless, the planters of Georgia made a surprizing progress in clearing their lands; and the English parliament granted them twenty-six thousand pounds, which, with very considerable private donations, was expended upon strengthening their southern frontier. For this service, the trustees pitched upon the Scotch Highlanders, one hundred and sixty of whom, all able men, were sent over in 1735, and settled upon Alatomaha river, sixteen miles, by water, from the island of St. Simon, where they built a fort, mounted with four pieces of cannon, which they named Darien, and a small town, called New Inverness. In February, 1736, Mr. Oglethorpe arrived at Savannah, with about three hundred more settlers; forty-seven of whom being English, were settled on the island of St. Simon, which was ceded to the English, together with all the adjacent islands, by the Creek Indians; the remainder built another town, called Frederica. Mr. Oglethorpe, in this voyage, forwarded the raising the beacon of Tybee, and the building of a church, erected a wharf for landing goods, and provided men for cleaning the roads and completing the fortifications.

In September, the same year, it was stipulated between Mr. Oglethorpe and the governor of St. Augustine, that the English should evacuate the  
fort

fort built upon the island of St. George, forty miles north of St. Augustine, near the influx of St. John's river; but that this evacuation should not injure his Britannic majesty's right to the said island, or any other of his claims upon the American continent.

The inhabitants of Ebenezer, disliking its situation, earnestly requested to be settled nearer the mouth of the river; and by their importunities, prevailed upon Mr. Oglethorpe, contrary to his opinion, to mark out a town for them on the spot they desired. He next turned his attention towards completing Fort Frederica, upon the island of St. Simon, near the northern mouth of the river Alamaha, which, with its outworks, forms a regular square, with four bastions, surrounded by a ditch. Mr. Oglethorpe then accompanied the Indians to survey their country, principally with a view to prevent them from attacking the Spaniards, with whom England was then at peace. During this progress, he marked out another fort, on an island at the mouth of Jekell's sound, which he named Cumberland island; and also visited another island, about sixteen miles long, which produced naturally wild oranges, myrtles, and vines, to which he gave the name of Amelia island.

In 1737, the depredations daily committed by the Spaniards on the English by sea, threatening a war betwixt the two powers, the British government, in consequence of advice from South-Carolina, that the Spaniards at St. Augustine and the

Havannah, were making preparations for attacking the infant colony of Georgia, at the request of the trustees, sent thither a regiment of six hundred men; and, for their encouragement, granted each soldier five acres of land, for his own use and benefit during his continuance there, with permission to quit the service at the end of seven years, if desired, and a grant of twenty acres of land in the colony. The parliament of England, this year, granting the colony a fresh aid of twenty thousand pounds, enabled the trustees to send over another embarkation of foreign protestants. But it was now found by experience, that some fundamental errors had been committed in the original constitution of the colony: the regulations concerning inheritance, negroes, spirituous liquors, and smallness of the grants, though well intended, and seemingly likely to bring about very excellent purposes, appeared evidently made without sufficiently consulting the nature of the country, or the disposition of the people. The tail-male grants were so grievous, as in a new colony, land must be for some time at least, the only wealth of the family, that the trustees soon corrected that error. The climate being excessively hot, and field-work very laborious, as in a new colony, the ground must be cleared, tilled, and sowed, with vast and incessant toil, for a bare subsistence, the burthen was too heavy for white men, who had not been seasoned to the country.

It is true, all the English colonies on the continent were originally settled without the help of negroes: the



the whites were obliged to labour; they underwent it because no other means presented. But it is not the nature of man to submit to extraordinary hardships in one spot, when they see their neighbours on another, without any difference in the circumstances of things, in a much more easy condition. Besides, no methods were taken to animate them in the hardships they underwent: the prohibition of rum, though specious in appearance, had a very bad effect; the waters in this unsettled country, running through such an extent of forest, were unwholesome, and wanted the corrective of a little spirit, as the settlers themselves wanted something to support their strength, in the excessive heat of the climate; besides, its dampness, in several places, disposed them to agues and fevers. This prohibition also deprived them of the only vent they had for their only marketable commodities, lumber and corn, which could sell no where but in the Sugar Islands, from which, with this restriction of negroes and rum, they could take very little in return. A levelling scheme, in a new colony, is extremely unadvisable: men are seldom induced to leave their native country but on some extraordinary prospects: there ought always to be something of a vastness in the view presented to them, to strike the imagination powerfully; because men never reason well enough to see, that the majority of mankind are not endued with dispositions proper to make a fortune any where, be the proposed advantages ever so great. The majority of mankind must always

be indigent ; but in a new settlement they must all be so, unless there are some persons on such a comfortable and substantial footing, as to give direction and vigour to the industry of the rest. People of substance found themselves discouraged from attempting a settlement, by the narrow bounds, which no industry could enable them to pass ; and the design of confirming the inheritance to the male line was an additional discouragement : besides, the grant, small as it was, after a short free tenure, was clogged with a much greater quit-rent than is paid in our best and longest settled colonies. Indeed, through the whole manner of granting land, there appeared a low attention to the trifling profits that might be derived to the trustees, or the crown, by rents or escheats, which clogged the deliberate scheme at first laid down, and was in itself extremely injudicious. In a flourishing colony, with extensive settlements, the crown receives a large revenue from the smallest quit-rents ; but, in an ill-settled province, the greatest quit-rents make but a poor return, yet burthen and impoverish the people.

These, and several other inconveniences in the plan of settlement, raised a general discontent : the settlers, finding themselves not upon a par with the other colonies, quarrelled with each other, and with their magistrates, complained, remonstrated, and meeting with no satisfaction, many of them quitted Georgia, and settled in the other colonies, where they deemed the encouragement better ; so  
that,

that, of above two thousand people, who had been sent from Europe in a little time, not above seven hundred remained in Georgia. The mischief grew worse and worse every day, till the government revoked the charter, took the province into its own hands, annulled all the particular regulations that had been made, and left the province exactly on the same footing with Carolina.

Though this step has probably saved the colony from ruin; yet, perhaps, it was wrong to neglect entirely the first views upon which it was founded, which were undoubtedly judicious; and if the methods taken to effect them were not so well directed, it was no argument against the views themselves, but a reason for some change in the means used to execute them. Nothing wants a regulation more than the dangerous inequality between the number of negroes and whites, in such English provinces where negroes are allowed. In Georgia, the first error of absolutely prohibiting negroes might have been turned to good account; for the settlers would have received the permission to employ them, under whatever restrictions, as an indulgence; and by executing whatever regulations were made in this point with strictness, by degrees, we might have seen a province fit to answer all the purposes of defence and commerce too; whereas they are permitted to use such a latitude in this respect, Georgia, instead of being a defence to Carolina, stands in need of a considerable force to defend itself.

In



In 1740, Mr. Oglethorpe made a progress of five hundred miles from Frederica fort ; and at the town of Coweta held a conference with the deputies of that town, and likewise with those of the Chactaws and Chickesaws, Indian nations residing between the English and French settlements, who confirmed the grant they had already made of all the lands upon the Savannah river, as far as the river Ogeeche ; and all the lands along the sea-coasts, as far as St. John's river, as high as the tide flows ; and all the islands as far as that river, particularly, the islands of Frederica, Cumberland, and Amelia ; reserving to the Creek nation, all the lands from Pipe-makers bluff to Savannah, and the islands of St. Catharine, Offebaw, and Sappolo ; declaring, that all the territory from Savannah river to St. John's river, and all the lands between them, and from St. John's river to the Bay of Apalachia, and from thence to the mountains, was, by antient right, the property of the Creek nation, who had maintained possession of it against all opposers, and could shew the heaps of the bones of their enemies, by them slain in defence of their lands.

Upon the breaking out of the war between England and Spain in 1739, Georgia became one of the chief objects against which the Spaniards directed their hostilities. Accordingly, in 1742, they invaded Georgia from St. Augustine, with near six thousand men, including Indians ; but were repulsed by general Oglethorpe, assisted by a small number of Indians, headed by Tomo Chichi's son.

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From this period the colony drooped and languished, till Mr. Ellis was appointed governor, under whose administration it again revived; to whom his majesty, upon his removal to another government, made a handsome present, as a mark of his approbation of the judicious measures he pursued for the good of the colony during his administration. James Wright, Esq; is the present governor.

#### CLIMATE, and NATURAL HISTORY of GEORGIA.

The face of the country resembles Carolina, of which it originally was a part, and though intensely hot in summer, is, in general, a rich and delicious country, its productions varying, indeed, according to the different parts of the colony; but in general the soil produces rice, indico, cotton, Indian corn, wheat, oats and barley, potatoes, pompions, melons, cucumbers, pease, beans, and fallading of all kinds, throughout the whole year. Nectarines, plumbs, and peaches grow naturally, in great abundance, and by cultivation might be rendered equal, if not superior, to those of Europe. Grapes grow wild, and ripen in June. Apple and pear trees, and apricot trees thrive well. The white and black mulberry trees, which are met with in the greatest plenty, afford excellent nourishment for worms, the propagation of which was one of the principal inducements for settling the colony. Orange and olive trees arrive at the greatest perfection,

fection, especially in the southern parts of Georgia. The chief timber trees are oaks, of six or seven species, pines, hickory, cedar, cypress, walnut, sassafras, beech, and various other trees, unknown to Europeans, besides a great variety of flowering shrubs.

This province produces variety of game, from the beginning of November to March; such as, a small kind of woodcocks and partridges, large wild turkies, turtle-doves, wild geese, ducks, teals, and widgeons, with immense quantities of wild pigeons, and other birds peculiar to the country. During the summer, the inhabitants kill deer and summer-ducks. Tygers, bears, and the opossum are common here; and the woods abound with cattle, wolves, racoons, and snakes; but none are venomous, except the rattle-snake. The rivers are full of alligators and sharks; but the coasts are plentifully stored with trout, mullet, whittings, and a prodigious variety of other fish. Oysters are found in great plenty, though not so well flavoured as those of England; as also clams, muscles, and very large prawns.

#### TRADE and POPULATION.

Georgia has two towns already known in trade; Savannah, the capital, which stands very well for traffic, about ten miles from the sea, upon a large river of the same name, navigable for large boats two hundred miles farther, to the second town, Augusta, which stands upon a most fertile spot, and is  
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so commodiously situated for the Indian trade, that, from the first establishment of the colony, it has been in a flourishing state, and very early maintained six hundred inhabitants in that trade alone. The bordering Indian nations are, the Upper and Lower Creeks, the Chickesaws, and the Cherokees; some of the most powerful tribes of America. The trade of skins with this people is the largest we have, comprehending that of Georgia, the two Carolinas, and Virginia. We deal with them a little for furs also, but they are of an inferior sort; all animals that bear the fur, by a wise providence, having it more thick, and of a softer and finer sort, in proportion as they are found more to the north; the greater the cold, the better they are clad.

As for the scheme of vines and silk, we were extremely eager in this respect, at first; and, in 1739, a specimen of Georgian silk was sent to London, and declared, by two very eminent merchants who dealt in that commodity, to be as good as any raw silk that came from Italy. But at the first settlement, such a design was impracticable; because a few people, settled in an uncultivated country, must provide every thing for the support of life, before they can think of manufactures; and must grow numerous enough to spare a multitude of hands from that most necessary employment, before they can send such things either cheap, or in plenty to market. But now, though the province is grown more populous, and longer settled, little is said of either of these articles.

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The misfortune is, though no people originally conceive things better than the English do, we want the unremitting perseverance necessary to bring designs of consequence to perfection.

At present Georgia is beginning to emerge, though slowly, out of the difficulties that attended its first establishment; being still but indifferently peopled, though now settled above thirty-six years. None of our other colonies were of so slow a growth, though none had so much the attention of the government, or of the people in general, or raised so great expectations in the beginning. The province exports some corn and lumber to the West-Indies, raises some rice, and, of late, has cultivated indigo with success. Its imports from the mother-country are much the same as the other colonies.



## F L O R I D A.

**T**HE country round Georgia, between that and the river Mississippi, an extent of about six hundred miles, still retains the name of Florida; tho' divided, since its cession to England, into two distinct provinces, viz. East and West Florida.

England has had an undoubted right to this country ever since the reign of Henry VII. by whose commission Sebastian Cabot, in 1496, discovered all this coast, from north lat. 28 to 50, sixteen years before

before it had been visited by any Europeans. Then, indeed, the southern part of this continent, towards the Straits of Bahama, was visited by the Spaniards, under Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1512; as it was, ten years after, by Vasquez Aillon; in 1527, by Pamphilo Navarez; and, in 1539, by Ferdinando Soto: but their cruelties so exasperated the natives, that they expelled them all, one after another; nor did they leave a Spaniard in all Florida.

Florida remained entirely neglected by Europe, until the reign of Charles IX. king of France, when the celebrated leader of the Protestants in that kingdom, admiral Chatillon, who was a man of too comprehensive views not to see the advantages of a settlement in America, procured two vessels to be fitted out for discoveries upon that coast, in 1562; probably, with a view to retire thither with those of his persuasion, if the success, which hitherto suited so ill with his great courage and conduct, should at last entirely destroy his cause in France. These ships, in two months, arrived upon the coast of America, near the river now called Albemarle, in the province of North-Carolina. The French gave the Indians to understand, in the best manner they were able, that they were enemies to the Spaniards, which secured them a friendly reception, and the good offices of the inhabitants. They were, however, in no condition to make any settlement.

On their return to France, the admiral, at this time, by the abominable policy of the court, ap-  
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parently



parently in great favour, was so well satisfied with the account they had given of the country, that, in 1564, he fitted out five or six ships, with as many hundred men aboard, to begin a colony there. This was accordingly done at the place of their landing in the first expedition, where they built a fort about two miles up the river May, now called St. John's, which they named Fort Caroline. The Spaniards, in 1565, dispatched a considerable force to attack this colony, under Don Pedro Menendez de Avilez, who erected Fort St. Augustine, and once more took possession of this country for Spain. Not satisfied with reducing Fort Caroline, he put all the people to the sword, after quarter given, changed the name of the fort to that of St. Matheo, on whose day he became master of it, and, committing great outrages upon the natives, paved the way for the vengeance which soon after fell upon them, for such an unnecessary and unprovoked act of cruelty. For, though the admiral and his party were by this time destroyed in the infamous massacre of St. Bartholomew, and though the design of a colony died with him, one M. de Gorgues, a private gentleman, fitted out some ships, which sailed from that coast purely to revenge the murder of his countrymen and his friends. The Indians greedily embraced the opportunity of becoming associates in the punishment of the common enemy, joined in the siege of two or three forts the Spaniards had built there, took them, and in all put the garrison to the sword, without mercy.

and

Satisfied with this action, the adventurers returned; and, happily for us, the French court did not understand, blinded as they were by their bigotry, the advantages which might have been derived from giving America to their Protestant subjects as a place of refuge.

The constant wars between the Spaniards and Creek Indians, greatly prevented their enlarging their settlements here; tho' by the evacuation of De Gorgues, they had for some years no European competitors in Florida. They fortified and improved, indeed, their new settlement at St. Augustine; but as to St. Matheo, it was suffered to go to decay. In 1585, some private adventurers in England fitted out a fleet of twenty sail of ships and pinnaces, under the command of Sir Francis Drake and Martin Forbisher, who attacked Fort Matheo, now called Fort St. Juan, which being very weak, was abandoned by the Spaniards; and Drake found in it fourteen pieces of brass cannon, and about two thousand pounds in cash. This seems to be all the fruits of this expedition against Florida; and the Spaniards constantly maintained their garrison at St. Augustine, (though several attempts were made to reduce it by the Carolinians, and afterwards by general Oglethorpe) till the conclusion of the last war, when the whole territory of Florida, including Louisiana, the town and island of New Orleans excepted, was ceded to the crown of Great-Britain by the treaty of Paris, in 1762. His Britannic majesty, being sovereign of the soil,

has the appointment of the governors in both the Floridas.

### EAST-FLORIDA.

East Florida, the most southern colony upon the continent of British America, lies between the 25th and 31st degrees of north latitude.

By the king's proclamation, dated the 7th of October, 1763, its boundaries were fixed, on the north, by the river St. Mary's; on the east, by the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulph of Florida; and, on the west, by the river Apalachicola, and the Gulph of Mexico.

Its length, from north to south, is three hundred and fifty miles. Its breadth, from the mouth of St. Mary's river, its northern limits, to the river Apalachicola, is about two hundred and forty. At the mouth of St. Juan's river, forty miles south of St. Mary's, where the peninsula begins, it is one hundred and eighty miles broad; and grows narrower from thence to the capes of Florida, where its breadth may be between thirty and forty miles. It contains, upon the nearest calculation, about twelve millions of acres, which is nearly as much as Ireland.

The sea-coast of East-Florida is a low flat country, intersected by a great number of rivers. The country continues flat for about forty miles from the coast, and then grows a little hilly, and



in some parts rocky. The soil in general is a light sand.

Florida differs materially from the rest of America in this, that almost all the continent besides is covered with a thick forest; whereas the trees in Florida are at a distance from one another, and being clear of under-wood, this country has more the appearance of an open grove than a forest.

In the interior parts the trees are larger, the grass higher, and the cattle bigger, than towards the sea, especially in that part of the peninsula which lies betwixt the river St. Juan's, and the fort of St. Mark d'Apalachie, which is about one hundred and fifty miles to the north-west of this river.

To take a view of the eastern shore of Florida, beginning from the north, we meet the river St. Mary's, lying in 30 deg. 47 min. latitude. It is a mile broad at its mouth, where Amelia island is situated, has five fathom water upon the bar at low water, and is navigable above sixty miles, where it has three fathom water. It is the best harbour from the capes of Virginia to those of Florida: it takes its rise out of the great swamp\*, called by the Indians Owa-qua-phe-no-gaw. The lands upon the banks of this river are the richest in the northern

\* The word swamp is peculiar to America: it there signifies a tract of land that is sound and good, but by lying low is covered with water. All the forest trees, pines excepted, thrive best in the swamps, where the soil is always rich, and when cleared and drained, is proper for the growth of rice, hemp, and indigo.

parts of the province; the abundance of cane-swamps sufficiently shews the fertility thereof. The best trees, that grow in the swamps on this river, are the live oak and cedar, very useful for ship-building: their extraordinary size is a strong mark of the goodness of the soil.

St. Juan's, now called St. John's river, lies forty miles southward of St. Mary's; the tract of land between them consists of plains, covered with pines; these plains are called in America, pine-barrens, or highlands, in contradistinction to the swamps and lowlands.

From St. John's river southwards to St. Augustine is forty-five miles: the country is much the same as has been just described, but not quite so good, the swamps being neither so frequent nor so large.

The river St. John's, the principal river of this province, in point of utility and beauty, is not inferior to any in America. The source of this river, which is not exactly ascertained, is in all probability near the capes of Florida: it passes through five lakes, the lowest of them is called by the Indians the Great Lake: it is twenty miles long and fifteen broad, and has eight feet water; there are several islands in it, and it is now called Lake George: this lake is one hundred and seventy miles from the mouth of the river. In going down from hence, the first European habitation is Mr. Spalding's, an Indian trader's store-house:

house: fifteen miles lower is Mr. Rolle's settlement; the whole distance from the lake to Mr. Rolle's is forty-five miles, and the country between is the best yet discovered upon the river. Mr. Rolle's plantation is well situated on the eastern banks, and is the most considerable upon this river, which is here very narrow: twenty-five miles from Mr. Rolle's, downward, is Piccolata, a small fort, with a garrison. The river is here three miles broad.

The bar, at low water, is nine feet deep, its channel up to Lake George is much deeper; the breadth is very unequal, from a quarter of a mile to three miles. The tide rises at the bar from five to eight feet, and two feet at Mr. Rolle's, though one hundred and twenty-five miles from the sea. There are neither shallows nor any rapidity in the river; the current, owing to the flatness of the country, is very gentle, and vessels may go up the river almost as easy as down, for two hundred miles; there is perhaps no river in the world more commodious for navigation.

St. Mark's river takes its rise near the mouth of St. John's river, runs from north to south, and parallel with the sea, till it empties itself into the harbour of St. Augustine. From the flatness of the country, there are many salt-marshes on both sides of the river, almost up to its source: these marshes may be easily defended from the tides, and will make very proper lands, either for rice, indigo, or hemp.



We come now to the harbour of St. Augustine, which would be one of the best in America, were it not for its bar, which will not admit vessels of great burthen, as it has but eight feet water\*. The bar is surrounded by breakers, that have a formidable appearance when you enter it; but is not so dangerous as it appears, on account of the bar being very short: since the government has appointed a good pilot, no vessels have been lost upon it. There is a road on the north side of the bar, with good anchorage for such ships as draw too much water to go into the harbour.

A neck of main land to the north, and a point of Anastatia island to the south, form the entrance of the port. Opposite to the entrance lies Fort St. Mark's, so called from the river it is situated upon. This fort is a regular quadrangle, with four bastions, a ditch fifty feet wide, with a covert-way, place of arms, and a glacis: the entrance of the gate is defended by a raveline; it is case-mated all round, and bomb-proof: the works are entirely of hewn stone, and being finished according to the modern taste of military architecture, it makes a very handsome appearance, and may be justly deemed as pretty a fort as any in the king's dominions.

\* It is necessary to observe, that the depth of the bars of the harbours on the eastern shore of East-Florida cannot be exactly ascertained, as the tides there are chiefly regulated by the winds; a strong westerly wind will make but six feet, and an easterly wind twelve feet water upon the bar of St. Augustine, at low water.

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The town of St. Augustine is situated near the glacis of the fort, on the west side of the harbour : it is an oblong square ; the streets are regularly laid out, and intersect each other at right angles ; they are built narrow on purpose to afford shade. The town is above half a mile in length, regularly fortified with bastions, half-bastions, and a ditch. Besides these works, it has another sort of fortification, very singular, but well adapted against the enemy the Spaniards had most to fear. It consists of several rows of palmetto-trees, planted very close along the ditch, up to the parapet ; their pointed leaves are so many *cheveaux de frize*, that make it entirely impenetrable ; the two southern bastions are built of stone. In the middle of the town is a spacious square, called the Parade, open towards the harbour : at the bottom of this square is the governor's house, the apartments of which are spacious and suited to the climate, with high windows, a balcony in front, and galleries on both sides : to the back part of the house is joined a tower, called in America, a look-out, from which there is an extensive prospect towards the sea, as well as inland. There are two churches within the walls of the town ; the parish-church, a plain building ; and another belonging to the convent of Franciscan friars, which is converted into barracks for the garrison. The houses are built of free-stone, commonly two stories high, two rooms upon a floor, with large windows and balconies : before



the entry of most of the houses runs a portico of stone arches ; the roofs are commonly flat. The Spaniards consulted conveniency more than taste in their buildings. The number of houses in their time, in the town and within the lines, was above nine hundred : many of them, especially in the suburbs, being built of wood or palmetto leaves, are now gone to decay. The inhabitants of all colours, whites, negroes, mulattoes, Indians, &c. at the evacuation of St. Augustine, amounted to five thousand seven hundred, the garrison included, which consisted of two thousand five hundred men. Half a mile from the town, to the west, is a line, with a broad ditch and bastions, running from St. Sebastian's creek to St. Mark's river : a mile further is another fortified line, with some redoubts, forming a second communication between a stockado fort upon St. Sebastian's river, and Fort Moza upon the river St. Mark's.

Within the first line, near the town, was a small settlement of Germans, who had a church of their own. Upon St. Mark's river, within the same line, was also an Indian town, with a church built of free-stone. The steeple is of good workmanship and taste, though built by the Indians. The lands belonging to this township, the governor has given as glebe-land to the parish-church. The land about St. Augustine, in all appearance, is the worst in the province.

Opposite to the town of St. Augustine lies the island of Anastasia. This island is about twenty-five



miles in length, and divided from the main land by a narrow channel, called Matanza river, though in reality an arm of the sea. The soil here is but indifferent : at present it is used for pasturage ; but having some creeks and swamps in several parts, may in time be cultivated to advantage.

At the north end of this island is a watch-tower, or look-out, built of white stone, which serves also as a land mark for vessels at sea. At the approach of any vessels, signals are made from this tower to the fort ; a few soldiers do duty there on that account. A quarry of whitish stone is found opposite to St. Augustine, of which the fort and houses are built. Stone quarries are very rare in the southern parts of America, which makes this of Anastasia the more valuable : the stone is manifestly a concretion of small shells, petrified ; it is soft under ground, but becomes very hard and durable by being exposed to the air.

Going southwards from Augustine, at the distance of a mile and a half, we come to St. Sebastian's creek. This stream takes its rise five miles north of Augustine, and, after making a sweep to the west, empties itself into the sea at this place : near the mouths of this creek are extensive salt-water marshes, overflowed at high tides, which may be easily defended from the sea ; higher inland are fine swamps.

We come next to Wood-cutters creek, which rises fifteen miles north of Augustine, and, after describing a semicircle to the west, much like Sebastian's creek, but with a larger sweep, empties itself  
into

into the sea six miles below Augustine: the lands upon this creek consist of very good swamps and highlands.

At the Matanzas, fifteen miles south of Woodcutters creek, is a small fort, and harbour, fit for coasting vessels. The harbour is opposite the south point of Anastasia island, where there is a second watch-tower. The soil between Woodcutters creek and the Matanzas, is tolerably good, on account of several creeks and swamps.

From the Matanzas we come to Halifax river, which, like St. Mark's above-mentioned, runs parallel to the sea, and is separated from it only by a sandy beach, in some parts a mile, in others two miles broad. This beach, or bank, seems to be formed by the sands; which, either by hurricanes or in a course of ages, have been washed up by the sea. The source of this river, though certainly not very far from St. John's river, is not as yet well ascertained: before it reaches Mosquito inlet, Tomoko river falls into it. This river runs from west to east; and from it to St. John's is only four miles land-carriage.

From the Matanzas to Mosquito inlet is forty miles. At this place, Hillsborough river, coming from the south, and Halifax river from the north, meet, and are both discharged here into the sea: the bar of this harbour has eight feet at low water.

About Mosquito inlet the country is low, and chiefly salt-marsh; what highland there is, is covered with cabbage trees, papaw trees, and other tropi-



tropical plants, which shew that West-India commodities may be raised here. The western banks of Halifax and Hillsborough rivers contain a great deal of excellent land ; the many orange-groves, which denote former Spanish settlements, and the frequent remains of Indian towns, shews that they have been once well inhabited. We are as yet unacquainted with the sources of most of the rivers in East-Florida, and particularly that of Hillsborough river : it is generally believed to have a communication with an Indian inlet, called by the Spaniards Rio Days, sixty miles to the south, where there is such another harbour as Mosquito, with eight feet water ; it is said to communicate with St. John's river.

Between Indian River and the Capes of Florida, are several rivers and harbours ; but they are not yet actually surveyed.

In East-Florida there is indeed a change of the seasons, but it is a moderate one ; in November and December many trees lose their leaves, vegetation goes on slowly, and the winter is perceived. The winters, however, are so mild, that the tenderest plants of the West-Indies, such as the plantain, the alligator pear-tree, the banana, the pine-apple or ananas, the sugar-cane, &c. almost constantly remain unhurt. Fogs and dark gloomy weather, are unknown in this country. At the equinoxes, especially the autumnal, the rains fall very heavy every day, betwixt eleven o'clock in the morning, and four in the afternoon, for some weeks



weeks together ; when a shower is over, the sky does not continue cloudy, but always clears up, and the sun appears again. The mildness of the seasons, and purity of the air, are probably the cause of the healthiness of this country, which the inhabitants of the Spanish settlements in America considered, with respect to its healthiness, in the same light that we do the south of France ; the Spaniards, from the Havannah and elsewhere, frequently resorting thither for the benefit of their health ; and since it came into the hands of Great-Britain, many gentlemen have experienced the happy effects of its climate.

By the best accounts of the first discovery of East-Florida, it appears to have been nearly as full of inhabitants as Peru and Mexico ; and these accounts are, in some measure, verified, by the frequent remains we discover of Indian towns throughout the peninsula. The natives are described to have been larger, and of a stronger make than the Mexican Indians.

The peninsula of Florida is not broad, and as it lies betwixt two seas, the air is cooler, and oftener refreshed with rains, than on the continent : the entire absence of the sun for eleven hours, makes the dews heavy, and gives the earth time to cool ; so that the nights in summer are less sultry here than in the north latitude, where the sun shines upon the earth for seventeen or eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. The heat, which in South-Carolina and Georgia is sometimes intolerable for want of  
wind,

wind, is also here mitigated, by a never-failing sea-breeze in the day-time, and a land-wind at night.

In no one part of the British dominions is there found so great a variety of trees, plants, and shrubs, as in East-Florida, where the productions of the northern and southern latitudes seem to flourish together.

Without attempting to enumerate all the forest-trees, I shall only take notice of such as are most useful, viz. the white and red pine, the spruce fir, (different from that to the northward) the ever-green oak, the chestnut oak, the mahogany, red bay, walnut, hickery, black cherry, maple, ash, locust, and logwood trees; the red and white mulberry tree, of which the forests are full, and which grow to a larger size than in any other part of America, fustic and braziletto, saffrafras and balsam of Tolu trees, the magnolia, tulip-laurel, and tupelow-trees, so beautiful in gardens.

All the fruit trees (an indifferent sort of plumb, and a small black cherry, excepted) have been imported from Europe, and thrive exceeding well. A stranger cannot help being struck with the luxuriance of the orange-tree; it is larger in size, and produces greater abundance, and better flavoured fruit, than in Spain or Portugal: this tree is so well adapted to the climate, that it has spread itself every where. Lemons, limes, citrons, pomegranates, figs, apricots, peaches, &c. grow here in high perfection.

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The myrtle wax shrub, the most useful and beneficial of the spontaneous growth of America, is found in all sorts of soil, and in such plenty, in East-Florida, that, were there hands enough to gather the berries, they could supply all England with wax : the process of making it is very simple ; they bruise the berries, boil them in water, and skim the wax off, which is naturally of a bright green colour, but may be bleached like bees-wax, and, on account of its hardness, is well adapted for candles in hot countries. Of the opuntia, or prickly-pear, there are different species in East-Florida ; on one sort, with a smooth leaf, the cochineal insect is found in incredible plenty : of the fruit of the other species is made a vegetable cochineal, which may be used for ordinary purposes instead of the true cochineal. The senna shrub, sarsaparilla, China-root, wild indigo, water and musk melons, are also indigenous plants of East-Florida.

I cannot omit mentioning an herb of the growth of East-Florida, of which, as yet, very little notice has been taken. This herb resembles entirely our samphire in England, and is called barilla or kali : it is the same of which in Spain the pearl-ashes are made. The sea-coast, marshes, and low-lands, overflowed at high tides, are covered with it.

East-Florida has a great plenty of all kinds of game common to the climate. As to the domestic animals, they are, in general, the same that we have in Europe ; the horned cattle as big as in England, especially in the inland parts.

It



It has also a great variety of birds ; immense numbers migrate hither in winter, to avoid the cold of the northern latitudes. In the woods are plenty of wild turkies, better tasted, as well as larger, than our tame ones in England. The pheasant is in size like the European ; its plumage like that of our partridge. The American partridge is not much bigger than a quail, and seems to be of that species. The wild pigeons, for three months in the year, are in such plenty here, that an account of them would seem incredible ; and all the different sorts of water-fowls belonging to America, the swan excepted, are found here in the greatest abundance.

The rivers of the southern provinces of North-America abound greatly with fish, but those of Florida rather more than any other : those mostly made use of, are the bass, mullet, different sorts of rays, and flat-fish, cat-fish, sea-trout, and black-fish ; crabs, prawns, and shrimps, of an extraordinary size, oysters, turtles, &c.

If one considers the extent of East-Florida, and the small number of inhabitants it has had these sixty years, since the native Indians were exterminated by the Creeks, one would be apt to think, it must of course be over-run with venomous insects and reptiles : several writers who mention Florida, have taken it for granted to be so. The fact is quite otherwise ; if we except the alligator, East-Florida has fewer insects than any other province in America. Mr. Rolle, who for eighteen months lived constantly in the woods,

woods, has seen but one rattle-snake : for the hunting parties of the Creek Indians, who are dispersed over the whole province, continually set the grass on fire, for the conveniency of hunting ; by which means not only the insects, but their eggs also, are destroyed.

There is an insect in East-Florida, not known in other parts of America, which is a large yellow spider : the hind part of his body is bigger than a pigeon's egg, and the rest in proportion ; its web is a true yellow silk, so strong as to catch small birds, upon which it feeds : the bite of this spider is attended with a swelling of the part, and great pain, but no danger of life. A great variety of lizards are found here ; some of them very beautiful, changing their colour, like the cameleon : they are quite harmless.

From the climate, and the great variety of tropical as well as northern productions, that are natives of this country, there is reason to expect, that cotton, rice, and indigo, not to mention sugar, will grow here as well as in any part of the globe.

The cotton shrub is known to thrive best in a light sandy soil, and in a climate that has frequent rains : the pine-barrens, and worst parts of Florida, as well as its climate, are therefore fit for this shrub ; and Mr. Rolle has already planted it with success. The quantity imported from the West-Indies bears but a small proportion to the whole consumption ; and the Manchester manufactures are greatly cramped by the scarcity of this commodity.

modity. A small bounty upon the growth of it in Florida, might be attended with good effect, and be a wise encouragement of an infant colony.

With respect to the cultivation of silk in Florida, there is not the least doubt of the climate being better adapted to the silk-worm than any country in North-America.

In Carolina and Georgia, the worms are often injured by accidental frosts, and cold mornings; in the spring, especially if it is a late one, they are sometimes actually destroyed, and at others benumbed and made sickly, for want of warmth: the southern situation of Florida has almost wholly exempted it from this disaster.

In Georgia there is often a great deal of thunder and lightning in the spring-season, which is apt to affect and injure the silk-worm; whereas, in Florida, where frequent showers refresh the air, and the sea-breezes keep it in constant agitation, the thunder is neither so common nor so violent.

The sugar-cane is not a native of the West-Indies, nor will it grow there without art and cultivation; and as both the soil and climate seem fit for sugar, one cannot reasonably doubt but the cultivation of it in Florida will be attended with success; and if in some respects Florida be found inferior to the West-Indies, it has, in other respects, perhaps, the advantage of them\*.

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\* This rather seems a visionary scheme, as the soil of East-Florida is in general sandy and poor, and the climate not always exempt from frosts, (vide Dickenson's voyage to Florida,



The stock of a sugar-planter is not only procured, but supported at a vast expence: the excessive price of labour in the West-Indies, arising from the unhealthiness of the climate, and the dearness of the necessaries of life, virtually amounts to a tax upon the sugar-planter; for not only all kind of cloathing, but provision too, must be imported from Europe and the northern plantations. The materials for building, all the lumber required to erect and repair the sugar-works, must be fetched from the continent. In Florida, they are found upon the spot; and the overseer, and other white servants, will not only be hired much cheaper in a plentiful and good climate than in a scarce and sickly one; but horses, cows, and oxen, may be purchased at less than one sixth the price they bear in the West-Indies. It is not only the prime cost of the stock that differs so much in the two countries, but the expence of maintaining it bears the same comparative difference; fodder for the cattle, and corn and flesh-meat for the servants, are very scarce in the islands, but plentiful in Florida.

In both the Floridas the lands are not sold, as in the ceded islands, but given upon conditions, which interest leads the grantee to perform; and the re-

p. 82 to 97); whereas, land can hardly be too rich for this cane, which even in Cuba, and the north side of Jamaica, from the north-west winds, and such frequent and heavy rains as fall in Florida, will produce nothing but melasses, though in those islands there are no frosts to render the juice more sour, if not kill the cane.

servation made to the crown is only an halfpenny an acre, after the end of three, five, or ten years, which is regulated by the extent of the grants.

It often happens in the West-Indies, that when the ground is prepared, and the cane planted, the rains or seasons, as they are called, fail, and the crop is ruined by drought; a misfortune which is not to be apprehended in Florida.

Both the soil and climate of East-Florida seem to suit the indigo plant: the Spaniards planted some of the Guatemala indigo in their gardens at St. Augustine, where, in a poor sandy soil, the indigo plants were of a larger size, and more luxuriant than in South-Carolina in the richest and best cultivated lands.

The vine grows almost in all parts of America, south of Delaware, in great plenty; and it will, probably, not be owing to any defect either in soil or climate, but to the dearth of labour, or negligence of the inhabitants, if wine is not produced hereafter in some plenty upon this continent; and currants, raisins, figs, and olives, will most probably thrive here whenever they are planted. The present governor is James Grant, Esq;

#### EXPORTS and TRADE.

As the number of inhabitants, as yet, is but small, no great improvements and productions can at present be expected, though there are some good settlements already begun; the exports, therefore, of this province, of course, are but small, and consist chiefly of its trade with the

Indians. The imports from the mother-country are the same as those from the other colonies.

### WEST-FLORIDA.

This province, bounded eastward by East-Florida, southward by the Gulph of Mexico, westward by a line drawn through the middle of Lake Pontchartrain and the river Mississippi, and northward by the country of the Chactaws, makes a part of Louisiana, ceded by France to the crown of England, by the late peace : hence, a description of West-Florida, in some measure, includes that of Louisiana.

The face of the country is rather level, but extremely well watered. About twelve miles above the mouth of the river Mississippi, a branch of it runs, on the east side, which, after a course of one hundred and sixty miles, falls into the north-west end of the great bay of Spirito Santo. At first, it is very narrow and shallow ; but, by the accession of several rivers and rivulets, becomes navigable by the greatest boats and sloops, and forms several pleasant lakes, particularly Lake Pontchartrain.

About sixty leagues higher up, on the east side, is the river Yasoua, which comes into the Mississippi, two or three hundred miles out of the country, and is inhabited by the nations of the Yasoues, Tonicas, Kowrouas, &c. Sixty leagues higher is the river and nation of Chongue, with some others to the east of them. Thirty leagues higher the Mississippi receives a river, that proceeds from a lake about

ten



ten miles off, which is twenty miles long, and receives four large rivers. The Casqui, the most southern, being the river of the Cherokees, comes from the south-east, and its heads are among the mountains which separate their country from Carolina, and is the great road of the traders from thence to the Mississippi, and the intermediate places. The river Ouespere, which, about thirty leagues to the north-east of the lake, divides into two branches, whereof the most southern is called the Black River; but there are very few inhabitants upon either, they having been destroyed, or driven away by the Iroquois. The heads of this river are in that vast ridge of mountains which runs on the back of Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, through which there is a short passage to the sources of the great river Potomack, on the east side of them. The Ohio, more to the north, a vast river, which comes from the back of New-York, Maryland, and Virginia, navigable six hundred miles. It runs thro' the most beautiful and fruitful countries in the world, and receives ten or twelve rivers, besides innumerable rivulets. Several nations formerly dwelt on this river, as the Chawanoes or Chouanons, a great people, who, with many other nations, were totally extirpated by the Iroquois, who made this river their usual road, when they entered into a war with the nations either to the south or west. The most northerly, and which comes, like the rest, from the north-east, is the Ouabacha, or St. Jeremy's river. Twenty-five leagues above the Ohio is the great island of the Tamaroas, with

a nation over-against it of the name, and another named Cahokia, who dwell on the banks of the Chepuffo. Thirty leagues higher is the river Checogou, or the River of the Illinouecks, corruptly called by the French Illinois; which nation lived upon and near this river, in about sixty towns, and consisted of twenty thousand fighting men, before they were destroyed by the Iroquois, and driven to the west of the Mississippi. This is a large pleasant river, and about two hundred and fifty miles above its entrance into the Mississippi, is divided into two branches: the lesser comes from north and by east, and it rises within four or five miles of the west side of the lake of the Illinouecks or Michigan, as it is called in our map: the biggest comes directly from the east, and proceeds from a morass within two miles of the river Miamiha, which runs into the same lake. On the south-east side there is a communication between these two rivers, by a land carriage of two leagues, about fifty miles to the south-east of the lake. The course of the river Checogou is above four hundred miles, navigable above half way by ships, and most of the rest by sloops and barges. It receives many small rivers, and forms two or three lakes; one especially, called Pimeteovi, twenty miles long and three broad, which affords great quantities of good fish, as the adjacent country does game, both fowls and beasts. Besides the Illinouecks, are the nations Prouaria, Cascasquia, and Caracantannon; and on the north branch inhabit part of the nation of the Mascoutans. On the south east bank of the river Checogou, M.  
de

de Sale, in 1680, erected a fort, which he named Crevecœur, or Heart-breaker, on account of the troubles he met with here. This fort stands about half way betwixt the Gulph of Mexico and Canada, was the usual road of the French to and from both, till they discovered a shorter and easier passage by the rivers Oubacha and Ohio, which rise at a small distance from the lake Erie, or some rivers which enter it. Eighty leagues higher, the river Mississippi receives the Misconsing, a river resembling that of the Illinouecks, in breadth, depth, and course; and the country adjacent to its branches is alike pleasant and fruitful. Sixty miles before it falls into the Mississippi it is joined by the river Kikapouz, which is also navigable, and comes a great way from the north-east. Eighty miles farther, almost directly east, there is a communication by a land-carriage of two leagues with the river Misconqui, which runs to the north-east, and after a passage of one hundred and fifty miles from the land-carriage, falls into the great bay of Poukeoutamis, or the Puans, which joins on the north-west side to the great lake of the Illinouecks. Higher up the Mississippi is the river Chabadeba; above which the Mississippi forms a fine lake twenty miles long, and eight or ten broad. Ten miles above that lake is the River of Tortoises, a large fair river, which runs into the country a good way to the north-east, and is navigable forty miles by the greatest boats.

There are only two large rivers which do not communicate with the Mississippi, betwixt it and the peninsula of Florida; viz. the Coza, and the Apalache.



1. The Coza river, which the French call Mobile, is bigger, except the Mississippi and Ohio, than any river in this or the neighbouring provinces. It rises from the Apalachian mountains, with several heads, of which the most northern is at the town and province of Guaxala, at the foot of the said mountains; many rivulets uniting, after a course of eighty miles, form a river wider than the Thames at Kingston, with several delightful isles, some three or four miles long, and half a mile broad, in a country wonderfully pleasant and fruitful. The first considerable town or province is Chiaha, with a river of its own name, that helps to enlarge Coza, which is famous for its pearl-fishing; there being in the river and little lakes that are formed by it, a sort of shell-fish, which the antients named pinna, betwixt a muscle and an oyster. From thence the river grows larger and deeper, being reinforced by others from the mountains and vallies, till it enters the province of Coza, reckoned one of the most pleasant and fruitful parts of the country, and very populous. It consists of hills and vallies, rivulets, arable land, and lovely meadows. Prunes grow naturally in the fields, better than can be produced in Spain by culture; and though there are some vines that creep on the ground, there are others which mount, in almost all the places near the rivers, to the tops of the trees. The Coza river enters the Gulph of Mexico one hundred miles south of Mobile. One of the rivers that enters the Coza is the river of the Chaetaws, which a collection of little streams renders a fine river. About  
the

the middle of it lies the mighty nation of the Chactaws, consisting of near three thousand men, who speak the same language as their neighbours the Chickesaws, just now mentioned, to whom they were lately, if they are not still, mortal enemies. To the east of the Cozas are the Becues or Abe-caes, who have thirteen towns, and dwell on divers small rivers, which run into the Coza. It is a very pleasant country, consisting of hills and vallies, and its soil in general more marly, or fatter, than that of the other provinces, which have mostly a lighter mould. A little more to the south-west, between the Abecaes and Chactaws, the Ewemalas, who are about five hundred fighting men, dwell on a fair river of the same name, which coming from the north-east mixes with the Coza. Mr. Coxe, whose description of this country is our guide, says the river Coza falls into the Gulph of Mexico, fifteen leagues west of the great bay of Nassau, or Spirito Santo. Near the mouth of this river the French erected a settlement, called Fort Louis, twenty leagues north-east of the nearest mouth of the Mississippi, which was the usual residence of the chief governor of Louisiana, who was nevertheless subordinate to him of Canada. From this garrison the French used to send detachments to secure their several stations among the Indians in the inland parts. The Alibamous, Chickesaws, and Chactaws, the most considerable nations upon and between the river Coza and the Mississippi, kindly entertained the English, who resided among them several years, and carried on a safe and peaceable trade with

with them, till about the year 1715, when by the intrigues of the French, they were either murdered, or obliged to make room for these new invaders, who unjustly possessed and fortified the same stations, in order to curb the natives, and cut off their communication with the English traders; whereby they engrossed a profitable trade for five hundred miles, of which the English were a few years before the sole masters.

The French had another small town and fort in the Isle Dauphine, formerly called Slaughter Island, from the number of men's bones found there on its first discovery, the remains, as it is said, of a bloody battle fought between two Indian nations. It is about nine leagues south of Fort Louis, and ten leagues west of Pensacola; and was inhabited and fortified only on account of its harbour, being the first place the French generally touched at on their arrival upon this coast. The distance between the river Coza and that of Apalache to the east, is about one hundred and ninety miles, and the coast between them is very deep and bold.

The chief harbour betwixt these two rivers, and indeed the best upon all this coast, is Pensacola; it being a large port, safe from all winds, with four fathom at the entrance, and deepens gradually to seven or eight. It lies eleven leagues east of Port Louis and Mobile.

On the west side of the harbour stands the town of Pensacola, the capital. A fine river enters the Bay of Mexico on the east side of this harbour, which



which comes about one hundred miles out of the country, after being formed by the junction of two other rivers. The land here is a barren sand ; but produces many pine-trees, fit for ship-masts. There is a communication from hence by land with Apalache.

Apalachy Cola is a good harbour, thirty leagues east of the former, and as much west from the river named by the Indians, Apalache. This river enters the Gulph of Mexico about one hundred miles from the head of the Bay of Apalache, at the north-west end of the peninsula of Florida, in about north latitude 30. Here was a fort, called St. Mary de Apalache, which the Alibamous destroyed in 1705. It is not easy to find this place by reason of the isles and lakes before and about it ; and though a stately river, whose mouth makes a large harbour, yet it has not above three fathoms water at most on the bar ; but when that is passed, it is very deep and large, and the tide flows higher into it than into any river upon all the coast, some say no less than fifty miles. But this is not strange, the country being a perfect level, and the river having a double current, one from the west and the other from the south. On both sides of it, towards the sea-coast, live several nations, called by the name of the Apalache Indians ; and about the middle of it live the great nations of the Cussetaes, Talliboufies, and Adgebaches. This river proceeds chiefly from others, which have their origin on the south or south-west side of the great ridge of hills that runs  
on

on the back of Carolina. There is a communication from hence by land to St. Augustine.

On the whole coast of this province, there are many vast beds of oysters, that produce pearls. Ambergrease is often found upon the coast; and also, especially after high winds, a sort of stone pitch, which the Spaniards soften with grease, and use for their vessels as pitch, than which they affirm it is better in hot countries, not being apt to melt with the heat of the sun. On both sides the river Mississippi there are many springs and lakes, that produce excellent salt. The country abounds in rich mines of copper, iron, lead, pitcoal, and quicksilver; and, in divers parts, there are great quantities of orpiment and sandarache.

The climate nearly resembles that of East-Florida; its natural products are also in general the same; and though the sea-coast is sandy and barren, the inland parts are capable of producing, in the greatest abundance, all the valuable commodities recommended as proper for cultivation in that province.

#### TRADE and POPULATION.

As many of the French who inhabited West-Florida before the late peace, have chose to become British subjects for the sake of keeping their estates, no doubt, considerable settlements will be soon made, especially as the land in the inland parts of this province is vastly preferable to East-Florida,  
and

and its situation for trade extremely good, having the river Mississippi for its western boundary.

There are at present about six thousand inhabitants in this province, who increase fast, it being much more healthy and inviting than East-Florida, especially the western parts, upon the banks of the Mississippi, which are said to agree very well with English constitutions.

They already carry on a considerable trade with the Indians, and export great quantities of deer-skins and furs. The French inhabitants here also raise considerable quantities of rice, and build some vessels. The imports from the mother-country are the same as those of the other colonies.



### A general Account of the INDIAN NATIONS.

**T**HE Aborigines of America, amongst the infinite number of nations and tribes into which they are divided, differ very little from each other in their manners and customs ; and all form a striking picture of the most distant antiquity.

They are tall, and strait in their limbs, beyond the proportion of most nations : their bodies are strong ; but rather fitted to endure much hardship, than to continue long at any servile work, by which they are quickly exhausted. Their bodies and heads are flattish, the effect of art ; their features



tures are regular, but their countenances fierce ; their hair long, black, lank, and as strong as that of a horse ; they have no beards ; the colour of their skin is a reddish brown, improved by the constant use of bear's fat and paint.

When the Europeans first came into America, they found the people quite naked, except those parts which it is common for the most uncultivated people to conceal. Since that time they have generally a coarse blanket to cover them, which they buy from us. The whole fashion of their lives is of a piece ; hardy, poor, and squalid : their education from their infancy is solely directed to fit their bodies for this mode of life, and to form their minds to inflict and endure the greatest evils. Their only occupations are hunting and war : agriculture is left to the women. When their hunting-season is past, in which they exert great ingenuity, they pass the rest of their time in an entire indolence, and observe no bounds or decency in their eating and drinking. Before they were acquainted with the Europeans, they had no spirituous liquors : but now this is the principal end they pursue in their treaties with us ; and from this they suffer inexpressible calamities ; for having once begun to drink, they continue a succession of drunkenness as long as their means of procuring liquor lasts. In this condition they lie exposed on the earth to all the inclemency of the seasons, which wastes them by a train of the most fatal disorders : and, in short, excess in drinking, amongst this uncivilized people, who have not art  
enough

enough to guard against the consequence of their vices, is a public calamity. The few amongst them who live free from this evil, enjoy the reward of their temperance in a robust and healthy old age.

Their character is striking. They are extremely grave in their deportment upon any serious occasion; observant of those in company; respectful to the old; cool and deliberate; never in haste to speak before they have thought well upon the matter, and are sure the person who spoke before them has finished all he had to say. Nothing is more edifying than their behaviour in their public councils and assemblies. Every man there is heard in his turn, according as his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country have ranked him. Not a whisper is heard from the rest while he speaks; no indecent condemnation, no ill-timed applause. The younger sort attend for their instruction.

There is no people amongst whom the laws of hospitality are more sacred; their houses, their provision, even their young women, are not enough to oblige a guest. To those of their own nation they are likewise very humane and beneficent. But to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended, the American is implacable. He conceals his sentiments, until he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge; but no length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment; no distance of place great enough  
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to protect the object ; on whom, when in his power, he exercises the most shocking barbarities, even to the eating of his flesh. To such extremes do the Indians push their friendship or their enmity.

Notwithstanding this ferocity, no people have their anger more under their command ; from their infancy, they are formed with care to endure every sort of insult with a composed countenance. They esteem nothing so unworthy a man of sense and constancy, as a peevish temper, and a proneness to sudden and rash anger. And this so far has an effect, that quarrels happen as rarely amongst them, when they are not intoxicated with liquor, as abusive language. But when their passions are roused, being shut up, as it were, and converging into a narrow point, they become furious ; are dark, sullen, treacherous, and implacable.

The Americans hold the existence of a Supreme Being, eternal and incorruptible, who has power over all. Satisfied with owning this, which is traditionary amongst them, they pay him no sort of worship. There are indeed nations in America who seem to pay some religious homage to the sun and moon ; and as most of them have a notion of some invisible beings, who continually intermeddle in their affairs, they discourse much of demons, &c. They have ceremonies too, that seem to shew they had once a more regular form of religious worship ; for they make a sort of oblation of their first-fruits, observe certain ceremonies at the full moon, and have in their festivals many things that very  
probably



probably came from a religious origin, though they perform them as things handed down to them from their ancestors, without knowing the reason. They consider the other world as a place abounding with an inexhaustible plenty of every thing desirable ; and that they shall enjoy there the most full and exquisite gratification of all their senses. Hence it is, no doubt, that they meet death with such indifference and composure of mind ; no Indian being in the least dismayed at the news, that he has only a few minutes to live, but, with the greatest intrepidity and composure, harangues those around him ; and thus a father leaves his dying advice to his children, and takes a formal leave of all his friends.

Great observers of omens and dreams, and eager pry-ers into futurity, they abound in diviners, augurs, and magicians, whom they rely much upon in all affairs ; and believing that the whole history of their future life may be collected from their dreams in their youth, they make dreaming a kind of religious ceremony when they come to sufficient years, which is thus performed : they besmear themselves all over with black paint, and fast for several days, in expectation that their good genius will appear, or manifest himself in some shape or other, in their dreams. The effect produced by this long fast in the brain of a young person, must no doubt be considerable ; and the parents take care, during this operation, that the

dreams be faithfully reported the next morning ; and this good genius, or propitious spirit, being the subject of the person's waking thoughts, becomes also the subject of his dreams ; and every phantom of his sleep is regarded as a figure of the genius, whether it be bird, beast, fish, a tree, or any thing else, and is particularly respected by them all their lives after. When any person of distinguished parts rises up among them, they suppose him naturally inspired and actuated by this propitious spirit, and have the utmost regard and veneration for him on that account.

Their physic is entirely in the hands of the priests, who generally treat them, in whatever disorder, in the same way. That is, they first inclose them in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which is a stone red hot ; on this they throw water, until the patient is well soaked with the warm vapour and his own sweat ; then they hurry him from the bagnio, and plunge him suddenly into the next river. This is repeated as often as they judge necessary ; and thus extraordinary cures are sometimes performed. But it frequently happens too, that this rude method kills the patient in the very operation ; and it is partly owing to this practice, that the small-pox has proved so fatal to them. However, they have the use of some specifics of wonderful efficacy, the power of which they attribute to the magical ceremonies with which they are constantly administered ; and purely by an application of herbs, they frequently cure wounds,  
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which with us refuse to yield to the most judicious methods.

Every nation has its distinguishing ensign, which is generally some beast, bird, or fish. Those among the Five Nations are, the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise, and eagle; and by these names the tribes are generally distinguished. They have the shapes of these animals curiously pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies; and when they march through the woods, they commonly, at every encampment, cut the figure of their ensign on trees, especially after a successful campaign, that those who pass that way may know they have been there, recording also, in their manner, the number of scalps or prisoners they have taken.

Liberty, in its fullest extent, is their darling passion. To this they sacrifice every thing. This makes a life of uncertainty and want supportable to them; and their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. Children are never, upon any account, chastised with blows; they are rarely even chidden. Reason, they say, will guide their children when they come to the use of it, and before that time their faults cannot be very great; but blows might abate their free and martial spirit, and render the sense of honour duller, by the habit of a slavish motive to action. When grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence, or subordination; even strong persuasion is



industriously forborne by those who have influence amongst them.

On the same principle, they know no punishment but death. They lay no fines, because they have no way of exacting them from free men; and the death, which they sometimes inflict, is rather a consequence of a sort of war declared against a public enemy, than an act of judicial power executed on a citizen. This free disposition is general; and, though some tribes are found in America with an head whom we call a king, his power is rather persuasive than coercive, and he is revered as a father, more than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice. The other forms, which may be considered as a sort of aristocracy, and are most common in North-America, have no more power. In some tribes there are a kind of nobility, who, when they come to years of discretion, are entitled to a place and vote in the councils of their nation: the rest are excluded. But amongst the Five Nations, or Iroquois, the most celebrated commonwealth of North-America, and in some other nations, there is no other qualification absolutely necessary for their head-men, but age, experience, and ability. However, there is generally in every tribe some particular stocks which they respect, and who are considered in some sort as their chiefs, unless they shew themselves unworthy of that rank.

Their great council is composed of these heads of tribes and families, with such whose capacity  
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has elevated them to the same degree of consideration. They meet in a house, which they have in each of their towns for the purpose, upon every solemn occasion. These councils are public. Here all such matters concerning the state are proposed as have already been digested in the secret councils, at which none but the head-men assist. Here it is that their orators are employed, and display those talents which distinguish them for eloquence, and knowledge of public business; for the chiefs seldom speak much themselves in public assemblies, thinking it beneath their dignity to utter their sentiments upon these occasions in an audible manner: they therefore entrust them with a person, who is stiled their orator. None else speak in their public councils; these are their ambassadors, and these are the commissioners who are appointed to treat of peace or alliance with other nations. Their chief skill consists in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expressing their thoughts in a bold figurative manner, and with gestures equally violent, but extremely natural and expressive.

When any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. At these feasts, if they cannot consume all, what remains is thrown into the fire; for they look upon the fire as a thing sacred, and in all probability these feasts were antiently sacrifices. Before the entertainment is ready,

the principal person begins a song, the subject of which is the fabulous or real history of their nation, the remarkable events which have happened, and whatever matters may make for their honour or instruction. The rest sing in their turn. They have dances too, with which they accompany their songs, chiefly of a martial kind; and no solemnity or public business is carried on without such songs and dances. Every thing is transacted amongst them with much ceremony; the ceremonies contributing to fix all transactions the better in their memory. Scarce any thing is undertaken with greater solemnity than hunting the bear; and an alliance with a noted bear-hunter, who has killed several bears in one day, is more eagerly sought after than that of a celebrated warrior; because the chase supplies the family both with food and raiment.

To help their memory, they have belts of small shells, or beads, of different colours, which have all a different meaning, according to their colour or arrangement. At the end of every matter they discourse upon, when they treat with a foreign state, they deliver one of these belts. If they should omit this ceremony, what they say passes for nothing. These belts are carefully treasured up in each town, and serve for the public records of the nation; and to these they occasionally have recourse, when any contests happen between them and their neighbours. Of late, as the matter of which these belts are made is  
grown



grown scarce, they often give some skin in place of the wampum, for so they call these beads, and receive in return presents of a more valuable nature; for they never consider what our commissioners say to be of any weight, unless a present accompanies each proposal.

Nor is the calumet, or pipe of peace, of less importance, or less revered, in many transactions relative both to war and peace. The use of the calumet is to smook either tobacco, or some bark, leaf, or herb, which they often use in its stead, when they enter into an alliance, or on any serious occasion or solemn engagement: this being among them the most sacred oath that can be taken, the violation of which is esteemed most infamous, and deserving of severe punishment from Heaven. When they treat of war, the whole pipe and all its ornaments are red; sometimes it is red only on one side; and by the disposition of the feathers, &c. one acquainted with their customs will know, at first sight, what the nation which presents it intends or desires. Smoking the calumet is also a religious ceremony, upon some occasions; and, in all treaties, is considered as a witness between the parties, or rather as an instrument, by which they invoke the sun and moon to witness their sincerity, and to become guarantees of the treaty between them. The size and decorations of the calumet are generally proportioned to the quality of the persons they are presented to, the esteem they have for them, and also the importance of the occasion.

Their suits are few, and quickly decided ; having neither property nor art enough to render them perplexed or tedious. Criminal matters come before the same jurisdiction, when they are so flagrant as to become a national concern. In ordinary cases, the crime is either revenged or compromised by the parties concerned. If a murder is committed, the family which has lost a relation prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer ; and when this happens, the kindred of the last person slain look upon themselves to be as much injured, and think themselves as much justified in taking vengeance, as if the violence had not begun amongst themselves. But, in general, the offender absents himself ; the friends send a compliment of condolance to those of the party murdered ; presents are offered, which are rarely refused ; the head of the family appears, who in a formal speech delivers the presents, which consist often of above sixty articles, every one of which is given to cancel some part of the offence, and to assuage the grief of the suffering party. With the first he says, “ By this I remove the hatchet from the wound, and make it fall out of the hands of him that is prepared to revenge the injury :” with the second, “ I dry up the blood of that wound ;” and so on, in apt figures, taking away one by one all the ill consequences of the murder. As usual, the whole ends in mutual feastings, songs, and dances. If the murder is committed by one of the same family or cabbin, that cabbin has the full right of judgment, without appeal, within itself, either to punish  
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the guilty with death, or pardon him, or to force him to give some recompence to the wife or children of the slain. All this while, the supreme authority of the nation looks on unconcerned, and never rouses its strength, nor exerts the fullness of a power more revered than felt, but upon some signal occasion. Then the power seems equal to the occasion. Every one hastens to execute the orders of their senate; nor was ever any instance of rebellion known among this people. Family-love, rare amongst us, is a national virtue amongst them, of which all partake; and there are friendships amongst them, fit to vie with those of fabulous antiquity.

The loss of any one, whether by a natural death or by war, is lamented by the whole town he belongs to. In such circumstances, no business is taken in hand, however important, nor any rejoicing permitted, however interesting the occasion, until all the pious ceremonies due to the dead are performed, which are always discharged with the greatest solemnity. The dead body is washed, anointed, and painted. Then the women lament the loss with the most bitter cries, and the most hideous howlings, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased, and those of his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. The whole village attends the body to the grave, which is interred habited in their most sumptuous ornaments. With the body of the deceased are placed his bows and arrows, with what he valued most in his life, and provisions for the long journey he is to take; for they hold  
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the immortality of the soul universally, though their idea is gross. Feasting attends this, as it does every solemnity. After the funeral, those who are nearly allied to the deceased conceal themselves in their huts for a considerable time, to indulge their grief. The compliments of condolance are never omitted, nor are presents wanting upon this occasion. After some time they revisit the grave, renew their sorrow, new-cloath the remains of the body, and act over again the solemnities of the first funeral.

Of all their instances of regard to their deceased friends, none is so striking as what they call the feast of the dead, or the feast of souls. The day of ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence. The neighbouring nations are invited to partake of the feast, and to be witnesses of the solemnity. At this time, all who have died since the last solemn feast of that kind, are taken out of their graves. Those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought for, and brought to this great rendezvous of carcases. The horror of this general disinterment is beyond description.

This strange festival is the most magnificent and solemn which they have ; not only on account of the great concourse of natives and strangers, and of the pompous re-interment they give to their dead, whom they dress in the finest skins they can get, after

after having exposed them for some time in this pomp ; but for the games of all kinds which they celebrate upon the occasion, in the spirit of those which the antient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon similar occasions.

In this manner do they endeavour to soothe the calamities of life, by the honours they pay their dead ; honours, which are the more chearfully bestowed, because, in his turn, each man expects to receive them himself : and though amongst these savage nations, this custom is impressed with strong marks of the ferocity of their nature ; an honour for the dead, a tender feeling of their absence, and a revival of their memory, are some of the most excellent instruments for smoothing our rugged nature into humanity ; and it is certain a regard for the dead has been universal from the remotest antiquity.

Though the women in America have generally the laborious part of domestic œconomy, yet they are far from being the slaves they appear. On the contrary, all the honours of the nation are on the side of the woman. They even hold their councils, and have their share in all deliberations which concern the state. Polygamy is practised by some nations ; but it is not general. In most, they content themselves with one wife ; but a divorce is admitted, for the same causes that it was allowed amongst the Jews, Greeks, and Romans. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies ; the principal of which  
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is, the bride's presenting the bridegroom with a plate of their corn.

Incontinent before wedlock, after marriage the chastity of their women is remarkable. The punishment of the adulterers, as well as that of the adulterer, is in the hands of the husband himself. Their marriages are not fruitful, seldom producing above two or three children; but they are brought forth with less pain than our women suffer upon such occasions, and with little consequent weakness. Probably, the severe life which both sexes lead is not favourable to procreation: and the habit unmarried women have of procuring abortions, in which they rarely fail, makes them more unfit for bearing children afterwards. This is one of the reasons of the depopulation of America; as whatever losses they suffer, are repaired slowly.

Almost the sole occupation of the Indian is war, or such an exercise as qualifies him for it; and no man is at all considered, until he has increased the strength of his country with a captive, or adorned his house with a scalp of one of its enemies. When the council resolve upon war, they do not declare what nation they are determined to attack, that the enemy may be off his guard. Nay, they even sometimes let years pass over without any act of hostility, that the vigilance of all may be unbent by the long continuance of the watch, and the uncertainty of the danger. In the mean time, the war-kettle is set on the fire; the  
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war-songs and dances commence ; the tomohawk, painted red, is sent to all the villages of the same nation, and its allies, with a belt of wampum : the messenger throws the tomohawk on the ground, which is taken up by the most expert warrior of the nation to which it is sent, if they chuse to join in the war ; if not, is returned, with a belt of wampum suitable to the occasion. The women add their cries to those of the men, lamenting those whom they have either lost in war, or by a natural death, and demanding their places to be supplied from their enemies, stimulating the young men by a sense of shame.

When, by these means, the fury of the nation is raised to the greatest height, the war-captain prepares the feast, which consists of dogs flesh. All that partake of this feast receive little billets, which are so many engagements which they take to be faithful to each other, and obedient to their commander. None are forced to the war ; but when they have accepted this billet, it is death to recede. All the warriors in this assembly have their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with dashes and streaks of vermillion, which give them a most horrid appearance. Their hair is dressed up in an odd manner, with feathers of various kinds. In this assembly, the chief begins the war-song, which having continued for some time, he raises his voice to the highest pitch, and turning off suddenly to a sort of prayer, invokes the god of war, whom they  
call

call Areskoni, to be favourable to his enterprize; and to pour destruction upon the enemy. All the warriors join him in this prayer with shouts and acclamations. The captain renews his song, strikes his tomohawk against the stakes of his cottage, and begins the war dance, accompanied with the shouts of all his companions, which continue as long as he dances.

The day appointed for their departure being arrived, they take leave of their friends, change their cloaths, or whatever moveables they have, in token of mutual friendship; their wives and female relations go out before them, and attend at some distance from the town. The warriors march out all drest in their finest apparel, and most showy ornaments, regularly one after another, for they never march in rank. The chief walks slowly before them, singing the war song, whilst the rest observe the most profound silence. When they come up to their women, they deliver up to them all their finery, put on their worst cloaths, and proceed on their expedition\*.

Their

\* Their military dress is very romantic and terrible. They cut off or pull out all their hair, except a spot about the breadth of two English crown pieces, near the top of their heads, and wholly destroy their eyebrows. The lock left upon their heads is divided into several parcels, each of which is stiffened, and adorned with wampum beads, and feathers of various shapes and hues, and the whole twisted, turned, and connected together, till it acquires a form much resembling the modern

Their motives for engaging in a war are rarely the same as ours. They have seldom any other end but the glory of the victory, or the benefit of the slaves which it enables them to add to their nation, or sacrifice to their brutal fury; and it is rare that they take any pains to give their wars even the colour of justice. It is not uncommon for the young men to make feasts of dogs flesh, and dances, in the midst of the most profound peace; and fall sometimes on one nation, and sometimes on another, and surprize some of their hunters, whom they scalp, or bring home as prisoners. Their old men wink at this, as it tends to keep up the martial spirit of their people, and inures them to watchfulness and hardship.

The qualities in an Indian war are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a surprize; and patience and strength, to endure the intolerable fatigues and hardships which always attend it: for the Indian nations are at an immense distance from

dern pompoon. Their heads are painted red down to the eye-brows, and sprinkled over with white down. The griffles of their ears are split almost quite round, and then distended with wires or splinters, so as to meet, and tie together on the nape of the neck. These also are hung with ornaments; and have generally the figure of some bird or beast drawn upon them. Their noses are likewise bored, and hung with trinkets of beads, and their faces painted with divers colours, so as to make an awful appearance. Their breasts are adorned with a gorget, or medal of brass, copper, or some other metal; and that horrid weapon the scalping knife, hangs by a string from their necks.

each



each other, with a vast desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of almost boundless forests. These must be traversed before they meet an enemy, who is often at such a distance as might be supposed to prevent either quarrel or danger. But, notwithstanding the secrecy of the destination of the party, the enemy has frequent notice of it, and is prepared for the attack, and ready to take advantage of the least want of vigilance in the aggressors. They never fight in the open field, but upon some very extraordinary occasions : not from cowardice, for they are brave ; but they despise this method, as unworthy of an able warrior, and as an affair which fortune governs more than prudence. The principal things which help them to discover their enemies, are the smoak of their fires, which they smell at a distance almost incredible ; and their tracks, in the discovery and distinguishing of which, they are possessed of an astonishing sagacity ; for they will tell, in the footsteps, which to us would seem most confused, the number of men that have passed, and the length of time since they passed, and are even able to find out the several nations by the different marks of their feet, and to perceive footsteps where an European could distinguish nothing.

But as those who are attacked have the same knowledge, their great address is to baffle each other in these points. On their expeditions therefore, they light no fire to warm themselves, or prepare their victuals, but subsist merely on meal, mixed with water ; lie close to the ground all day, and march

only in night. As they march in their usual order in files, he that closes the rear diligently covers his own tracks, and those of all who preceded him, with leaves. If any stream occurs in their route, they march into it for a considerable way, to foil their pursuers. When they halt to rest and refresh themselves, scouts are sent out on every side to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy may lie hid. In this manner they often enter a village, whilst the strength of the nation is employed in hunting, massacre all the helpless old men, women, and children, and make as many prisoners as they can manage. When they discover an army of their enemies, their way is to throw themselves flat on their faces amongst the withered leaves, the colour of which their bodies are painted to resemble exactly. They generally let a part pass unmolested; and then, rising a little, take aim, being excellent marksmen; and setting up a most tremendous shout, which they call the war-cry, pour a storm of musket-balls upon the enemy; for those nations which have commerce with Europeans, have long since laid aside the use of arrows. The party attacked returns the same cry; every man in haste covers himself behind a tree, and returns the fire of the enemy, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give the second fire.

After fighting some time in this manner, the party which has the advantage, rushes out of its cover with small axes in their hands, which they dart

with great address and dexterity; they redouble their cries, intimidating their enemies with menaces, and encouraging each other with a boastful display of their own brave actions. Being now come hand to hand, the contest is soon decided; and the conquerors satiate their savage fury with the most shocking insults and barbarities to the dead.

The fate of their prisoners is terrible. During the greatest part of their journey homewards, they suffer no injury; but when they arrive at the territories of the conquering state, or at those of its allies, the people from every village meet them, and think they shew their attachment to their friends by their barbarous treatment of the unhappy prisoners; so that, when they come to their station, they are wounded and bruised in a shocking manner. The conquerors manage their march so as not to approach their village till towards evening. At day-break next morning, they dress their prisoners in new cloaths, adorn their heads with feathers, paint their faces with various colours, and put into their hands a white staff, tossed round with the tails of deer. The commander of the expedition then gives as many yells as he has taken scalps or prisoners, and the whole village assemble at the water-side, if situated near a river. As soon as the warriors appear, four or five of their young men, well clothed, get into a canoe, if they came by water, or otherwise march by land; the two first carrying each a calumet, and go singing to search the prisoners,



soners, whom they lead in triumph to the village. The war-captain then waits upon the head-men, and in a low voice gives them an account of every particular of the expedition, of the damage the enemy has suffered, and his own losses in it. This done, the public orator relates the whole to the people. Before they yield to the joy which the victory occasions, they lament the friends whom they have lost in the pursuit of it. The parties most nearly concerned are afflicted apparently with a deep and real sorrow; but, as if they were disciplined in their grief, upon the signal for rejoicing, in a moment, all tears are wiped from their eyes, and they rush into an extravagance and phrenzy of joy.

In the mean time, the fate of the prisoners remains undecided, until the old men meet. It is usual to offer a slave to each house that has lost a friend, giving the preference according to the greatness of the loss. The person who has taken the captive attends him to the door of the cottage to which he is delivered, and with him gives a belt of wampum, to shew that he has fulfilled the purpose of the expedition, in supplying the loss of a citizen. They view the present which is made them for some time; and, according as they take a capricious liking or displeasure to the countenance of the victim, or in proportion to their natural barbarity, or their resentment for their losses, they either receive him into the family, or sentence him to death. If the latter, they throw away the belt with indigna-

tion. Then it is no longer in the power of any one to save him. The nation is assembled, a scaffold is raised, and the prisoner tied to the frame, who opens his death-song, and prepares for the ensuing scene of cruelty with the most undaunted courage. On the other side, they prepare to put it to the utmost proof, with every torment which the mind of man, ingenious in mischief, can invent. They begin at the extremities of his body, and gradually approach the trunk. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one : another takes a finger in his mouth, and tears off the flesh with his teeth ; a third thrusts the finger, mangled as it is, into the hole of a pipe made red hot, which he smoaks like tobacco. Then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two stones ; they cut circles about his joints, and gashes in the fleshy part of his limbs, which they sear immediately with red-hot irons, cutting and searing alternately ; they pull off this flesh thus mangled and roasted, bit by bit, devouring it with greediness, and besmearing their faces with the blood, in an enthusiasm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them ; while others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs themselves, in every way that can increase the torment. This continues often five or six hours together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to invent new torments, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who, wearied out with

such a variety of inhuman torments, often falls immediately into so profound a sleep, that they are obliged to apply fire to awaken him, and renew his sufferings.

He is again fastened to the frame, and again they renew their cruelty. They stick him all over with small matches of wood that easily takes fire, but burns slowly ; they continually run sharp reeds into every part of his body ; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thrust out his eyes ; and, lastly, after having burned his flesh from the bones with slow fires, after having so mangled the body that it is all but one wound, after having mutilated his face in such a manner as to carry nothing human in it, after having peeled the skin from the head, and poured a heap of red-hot coals or boiling water on the naked skull, they once more unbind the wretch, who, blind and staggering with pain and weakness, assaulted and pelted on every side with clubs and stones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every step, runs hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compassion, or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or dagger. The body is then put into the kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous, and the following night is spent in rejoicings. But if none of the byestanders are inclinable to lengthen out his torments, he is either shot to death with arrows, or inclosed with dry bark, to which they set fire ; and in the evening, they run from cabbin to cabbin, and strike with small twigs their furniture,



the walls and roofs of their cabbins, to prevent his spirit from remaining there, to take vengeance for the evils inflicted on his body.

The women, forgetting the human as well as female nature, act their parts, and even outdo the men, in this scene of horror. The principal persons of the country sit round the frame, smoaking and looking on, without the least emotion. What is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smoaks too, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest between him and them which shall exceed, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them, with a constancy and firmness almost above human. Not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance, escapes him; he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments; he recounts his own exploits, informs them what cruelties he has inflicted on their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and, though his reproaches exasperate them to a perfect madness of rage and fury, he continues his reproaches, even of their ignorance in the art of tormenting; pointing out himself the more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for an Indian to behave otherwise, as it would be for an European to suffer as an Indian.

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The prisoners who have the happiness to please those to whom they are offered, are immediately adopted into the family, are accepted in the place of the lost father, son, or husband, and have no other mark of their captivity, but that they are not suffered to return to their own nation. To attempt this would be certain death. The principal purpose of the war is to recruit in this manner; for which reason a general who loses many men, though he should conquer, is little better than disgraced at home. They therefore never chuse to attack but with a very undoubted superiority.

But if they have been unsuccessful, things wear a quite different face, they then enter the village without ceremony by day, with grief and melancholy in their countenances, keeping a profound silence; or if they have sustained any loss, they enter in the evening, giving the death whoop, and naming those they have lost, either by sickness or the enemy. The village being assembled, they sit down with their heads covered, and all weep together, without speaking a single word, for some considerable time. When this silence is over, they lament aloud for their companions, and every thing wears the face of mourning for several days.

The scalps, which they value so much, are the trophies of their bravery; with these they adorn their houses, which are esteemed in proportion as this sort of spoils is more numerous. They have solemn days appointed, upon which the young

men gain a new name, or title of honour, from their head-men; and these titles are given according to the qualities of the person, and his performances, of which these scalps are the evidence. This is all the reward they receive for the dangers of the war.

Such, in general, are the manners and customs of the Six Nations, which in the main agree with those of all the North-American Indians: tho' every tribe has something peculiar to itself. Among the Hurons and Natchez, the dignity of chief is hereditary, and the succession is in the female line; and in case this whole line should be extinct, the most noble matron of the tribe makes choice of any one she pleases for a chief. If the person who succeeds is not arrived to years sufficient to take the charge of the government, a regent is appointed, who has the whole authority, but acts in the name of the minor.

The Delawares and Shawanees are remarkable for their deceit and perfidy, paying little or no regard to their most solemn engagements.

The Twightees and Yeahtanees, on the banks of the river St. Joseph, that flows into Lake Michigan, are remarkably mild and sedate, and seem to have subdued their passions beyond any other Indians on the continent. They have always been steady friends to the English, and might, no doubt, be made very useful subjects, if proper steps were taken to civilize them.

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The Cherokees are governed by several sachems or chiefs, elected by the different villages. The Creeks and Chaſtaws are ruled in the ſame manner. The Chickefaws have a king, and a council for his aſſiſtance, and are eſteemed a brave people. They are generally at war with all the other Indians eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi: the Chaſtaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and the ſouthern Indians, often fight pitched battles with them, on the plains of their country: having horſes in plenty, they ride to the field of battle, and there diſmount, where the women fight, as well as the men, If they are hard preſſed.

The Creeks and Chaſtaws puniſh their women, when unfaithful to their huſbands, by cutting off their hair, which they will not ſuffer to grow again till the corn is ripe the next ſeaſon. The Chickefaws, their neighbours, are no-ways troubled with a ſpirit of jealouſy; and ſay, it is beneath a man to ſuſpect a woman's fidelity. They are tall, well-ſhaped, and handſome featured, eſpecially the women, who in beauty far excel any other nation to the ſouthward: but even theſe are ſurpaſſed by the Huron women, upon Lake Erie, who are allowed to be the moſt beautiful ſavages upon the continent. They dreſs much neater than any of the reſt, and curiouſly adorn their heads, necks, wiſts, &c. yet a jealous huſband is very rare, either among the Hurons or Iroquois.

The Ottawawas, or Souties, are luſty, ſquare-built, and ſtrait-limbed. The women, ſhort, thick,  
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and ordinary ; yet their husbands are very prone to jealousy, and cut off the tip of the suspected wife's nose, that she may for ever after be distinguished by a mark of infamy.

The Indians on the lakes are generally at peace with one another, possessing an extensive and fruitful country. They are formed into a sort of empire, and the emperor is elected from the eldest tribe, which is that of the Ottawawas, some of whom are settled near Detroit, but the major part further westward, towards the Mississippi. Pontack is the present emperor, who has certainly the fairest dominions, and greatest authority, of any Indian chief that has appeared on the continent since our acquaintance with it. He not long since formed a design of uniting all the Indian nations under his authority ; but miscarried in the attempt. Were proper measures taken, this chief might be rendered very serviceable to the British trade and settlements in this country ; more extensively so, than any one that has ever been in alliance with us.

In travelling northward from Montreal, towards the Ottawawas river, you meet with some few villages belonging to the Round-heads, so called, from the shape of their heads ; all possible pains being taken by their mothers to make them round in their infancy, this being esteemed a great beauty.

The Esquimaux have been already described, (Vol. I. p. 242.) Our acquaintance with the Sioux,  
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Nippissongs, and other northern Indians, is, as yet, but very slender. The Seguntacooks, or Abnaques, settled in New-England, were formerly very numerous ; as were the Mimaux, in Nova-Scotia. Of the Penobscots, Narigeewalks, St. John Indians, and many others to the east and south of the Gulph of St. Laurence, there are now scarce any footsteps remaining, except a few families, dispersed up and down.

There have been many conjectures concerning the origin of the different nations of Indians in America ; it being taken for granted, that they are emigrants from some other country. But as the Indians are very solicitous and careful to hand down their history from father to son, the account they give of themselves seems most deserving of credit. The Hurons, and six confederated nations, and all the other tribes to the southward, except the Chickefaws, agree, that they came from the setting of the sun into this country. The Chickefaws came from South-America, since the Spaniards took possession of it. The Indians on the great lakes north of the river St. Laurence, and those between that river and the Bay of Fundy, and quite to Hudson's Bay, northward, except the Esquimaux, assert, that they came from the northward.

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REFLECTIONS on the present State of the  
NORTH-AMERICAN COLONIES.

**G**REAT-Britain, a country of manufactures, without materials ; a trading nation, without commodities to trade upon ; and a maritime power, without either naval stores or sufficient materials for ship-building, could not subsist long, as an independent state, without her colonies. We need only mention what happened in 1718, when the Swedes and Russians entered into a combination to deprive England of naval stores ; and would suffer none to be exported out of their dominions but in their own ships, and at their own exorbitant prices, which must soon have ruined the trade and navigation of this kingdom : but proper measures being concerted for procuring those necessary articles from the North-American colonies, they were immediately attended with the desired success ; and Great-Britain had not only a sufficient supply for her own use, but a large surplus for exportation. This nation also stands in as great need of many other as necessary and useful articles, which are or might be as easily obtained from the colonies.

From hence we learn the use of colonies, and the intent of settling them ; which is to supply the mother-country with such commodities as she has not of her own, and by that means to purchase their necessaries from it. By that means, they would

would assist and support each other ; their connection and dependence would be mutual and reciprocal, and it is by such an establishment alone, that Great-Britain can either reap the benefit of, or preserve the allegiance of her colonies. Many, indeed, think of nothing but keeping them in subjection, by the rules and power of government ; but the first thing to be considered in governing any people whatever is, how they are to subsist under that government. So long as the colonies produce nothing wanting in England, they can never live under her government, without great complaints on both sides : they cannot then vend their products in the mother-country, and must depend on other powers for the chief part of their support, or manufacture their own commodities.

But colonies, as has been observed, should live merely by agriculture, without either manufactures or trade, except what is confined to their mother country. To maintain a number of people merely by the produce of lands, requires ten times more land than many would allow them, while the North-American colonies are confined by chains of barren mountains, to a very narrow slip of land along the sea-coast. It is found from daily experience in the tobacco-colonies, where they have hitherto subsisted in that manner, that a planter should have forty or fifty acres of land for every labourer : where they are reduced to less, they are soon obliged to leave off that manner of living ; that quantity of land is required not only to produce

duce their staple commodities, and to supply them with fresh lands as they wear out, but to afford a large range for their stock, which should in a manner maintain themselves, while the people bestow their time and labour upon their staple commodities for Britain, otherwise they cannot live by them. But it appears, from a particular inquiry into the number of people and quantity of land, that in many of these colonies they have but ten or twelve acres a-head, in others not above twenty; and not a sufficient quantity in any of them, to live merely by making tobacco, hemp, or flax, if it be not in the southern or rice-colonies, where the land will neither breed people, nor produce any thing. But if the colonies thus want land to subsist by their agriculture at present, that is, to live by a dependance on their mother-country, what can we expect from them in twenty or thirty years, when their numbers may be double! It will then be as impracticable for them to purchase their manufactures from their mother-country, as it would be for Britain to purchase all the manufactures she uses, without making or selling any. To confine them then to their present bounds, is to oblige them to become independent of their mother-country, whether they will or not. And this is the more to be regarded, as the people in the colonies must increase and multiply much faster than they do here; since they live almost entirely by their agriculture, the only source of population in any part of the world.



All this abundantly appears, from a due account of the colonies, of the soil and climate of North-America, and of what they produce, or may be fit to yield for the benefit of the nation; of which we can only here give a general view, from which it will appear, that these colonies can never subsist by that dependance upon her, by the present state of their agriculture. It is expected, they should do this by means of tobacco, indigo, hemp, and flax, which are the most unsuitable to their soil, and the two last to the climate, of any thing almost that grows. These commodities require the very best and richest lands, whereas their lands are very poor and mean. Tobacco is one of those rank and poisonous weeds which only grow on rotten soils and dunghills, such as fresh wood-lands, and will not thrive on any others. To make tobacco, indigo, hemp, or flax, especially on their lands, requires more manure than can possibly be had for them in the soil and climate of North-America, which produce little or no grass. The length and severity of the winters in the northern colonies, and the badness of the pasturage in the southern, render it impracticable to maintain stocks of cattle sufficient to manure lands for these commodities, which their lands will not produce without great quantities of manure. In the northern colonies, they are obliged to expend their manure on their corn and grass grounds, and have none to spare for hemp and flax; in the tobacco-colonies, that weed would require more manure than all the cattle and horses in England

land yield; and in the southern colonies, their scorching sands will not take manure, much less produce in perfection such commodities as these, which many think should be their staple. At the same time, they are obliged to plant Indian corn, which, by its great substance, and spreading root, exhausts the earth as much as these their staple commodities. Thus their lands do not produce above a third part what they did formerly, when they were fresh and fertile; while the people are twice or thrice as numerous, and require the produce of their lands for their own use, instead of being able to pay taxes, or even to purchase absolute necessities.

Hence in the colonies, corn is three or four times as dear as it was only twenty years ago. The consequence of this is, it not only renders them unable to plant any thing for Britain, before the necessities of life; but as tobacco, hemp, and flax exhaust their corn and grass grounds, they hinder the people to raise stocks of cattle, either for their subsistence, or to manure their lands for these crops, and oblige them to keep stocks of sheep; thereby supplying them with the materials both of their hempen, linen, and woollen manufactures; while they obstruct the growing of other commodities to purchase these their necessities from Britain.

This state of the colonies is more to be regarded, as their pastures will not maintain large cattle,  
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and are only fit to feed sheep and goats, on which they must subsist, as people do in the like soil and climate in all parts of the world. Their wool is likewise better than the English, at least in the southern colonies; it is of the same kind with the Spanish wool, or curled and frizzled like that, and might be rendered as fine by the same management. Sheep likewise maintain themselves, in these southern colonies, throughout the whole year, without cost or trouble. Thus by the step which the colonies have lately taken, to raise all the sheep they can, they will soon have plenty of wool. With this they have already made cloth worth twelve shillings a yard, which is as good as any made of English wool. Some of their wool has been sent to England, where it sold for the price of the best; although this was from a common tobacco plantation, where no care had been taken of it. This may perhaps be looked upon by some as a loss to England; but if she would study to make a right and proper use of her colonies, might be of more service to her than any one thing they are capable of producing. They have already wool enough, which is as fit for their use as if it were finer; and the only way to hinder them to manufacture it, is to improve it so as to make it fit to send to England, and to supply the place of Spanish wool; and if that were rightly set about, it might be easily done.

In order to prevent this state of the colonies, and to supply them with a proper staple commodity for



Britain, nothing seems to be thought of but hemp and flax ; but it shews a great want of knowledge to endeavour to improve lands with hemp and flax, which are worn out with Indian corn and tobacco. They are obliged to leave off planting tobacco, because it requires manure once in three or four years ; but hemp and flax require it every year. It is contrary both to reason and experience, to expect to get hemp and flax, which require a strong, rich, and moist soil in a cool climate, from the light, sandy, and parched soil of North-America. They are as improper for these singular and peculiar climates, as for the soil. The proper climate for hemp and flax is from the middle of France to the middle of Russia, that is, from the 45th to the 60th degree of latitude, which in North-America extends from Montreal to the northern parts of Hudson's Bay, where we have neither soil nor climate fit to produce any thing. If we would plant hemp and flax to the southward of this latitude, in which all our colonies lie, they should be sown in winter, like wheat, that they may, in like manner, get strength and substance before the heats of summer come on : this is the practice in sowing hemp and flax from the southern parts of France to Egypt ; but in North-America, on account of the long and hard winters, and late and backward springs, hemp and flax cannot be sown in the proper season for them any where to the northward of Carolina, where the poor sandy soil is improper for these crops.

crops. For this reason, they sow hemp and flax in their swamps, which are only the washings of the sand-banks which surround them ; in which hemp will shoot up to a great height, it is true, but is as weak as the water it grows in. Hence, though they have had a bounty on hemp and flax in North-America since the year 1693, which has been renewed from time to time, and they have as often tried to make these commodities, they could never produce such quantities as to serve for a staple commodity to send to Britain ; but, on the contrary, are obliged to import considerable quantities for their own use.

Since their lands will not produce those commodities which require a rich and fertile soil, it is proposed to plant them with cotton, which grows in the greatest plenty and perfection in all our colonies, from Maryland to South-Carolina and Georgia, and might even be made in the northern colonies, as it is in Russia, if they had the right sort. Cotton is as common, and as generally manufactured in many of them, as wool is in England. Thus it is as necessary to get cotton from these colonies, to prevent their manufactures, as to supply those of England. But cotton is a commodity of very small value, and a poor staple for any one colony, and much more for so many : although the nation wants one million eight hundred thousand pounds weight of cotton a-year, yet at a shilling a pound, it is worth but ninety thousand pounds ; and if they were to make it in any quantities, it would soon

fall to its usual price of nine-pence, and would not clear them above fifty thousand pounds a-year, which is not six-pence a-head for all the people in North-America. It is for this reason that they are obliged to manufacture their cotton; and we can never expect to get either that, or hemp and flax, from them, till they have many other commodities, that may enable them to live, and purchase their necessaries with these.

The next commodity proposed for the staple of the colonies is indigo, which thrives but very indifferently either in the soil or climate. Indigo, like tobacco, not only exhausts the substance of the earth, but requires the very best and richest lands, and such as have a natural moisture in them: whereas the lands in our southern colonies are extremely poor and sandy; and have a barren dryness in them, which renders them very unfit to produce such a crop as this to any manner of advantage. Indigo is planted by the French on the fresh wood-lands of St. Domingo, which are too rich and moist even for sugar, to exhaust their luxuriant fertility, in order to render them fit for other crops. They likewise cut it every six weeks, or eight times in a year, and for two years together; whereas, in Carolina it is cut but thrice, and as the land has not substance and moisture to make it shoot after cutting, and the summers are too short, the third cutting is but of little value, as even the second is in Virginia. The French and Spaniards make great quantities of indigo, worth  
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eight and ten shillings a pound ; but the little we make in Carolina is not, upon an average, worth above two shillings, and a great deal has been sold for a shilling, and less. This is therefore far from being so rich and valuable a commodity in North-America, as many imagine ; although it is of great service in the rice colonies, and helps them to keep up their plantations, by making a small quantity of indigo with their rice ; and on some few spots of better lands, turns to more account.

From this brief account of these commodities, it must appear, that they can never be the general and lasting staple of any colony we have in all North-America ; which would be still much more evident, if at the same time we consider the state of their agriculture, in other more necessary and essential articles, the necessaries of life. Wherever they have planted these commodities, their lands are so exhausted by them, that they will hardly produce the bare necessaries of life, and much less such exhausting weeds as these. It is for this reason, that most of our tobacco plantations are broke up ; the people have been obliged to quit them many years ago, after all their charges and improvements upon them, and retire to the mountains, where they find some fresh lands fit to produce that commodity, which are the support of the tobacco trade : but these will in a short time be worn out, as the rest have been ; and when that happens, there must be an end of the tobacco trade, without a supply of fresh lands fit to produce that exhaust-

ing weed, as well as to maintain cattle to manure them, with convenient ports, and an inland navigation, to ship off such a gross and bulky commodity ; of which there are none in all the British dominions in North-America, but the rich lands on the Mississippi and Ohio. Besides, light and sandy lands, in hot climates, never bear good grass, and much less in North-America ; where they are generally covered with pines, which destroy what little grass the earth might otherwise produce, and render every thing that grows upon it so sour, that no cattle will taste it, unless they are reduced to their last shift. In a pine-barren, there is not a blade of grass to be seen ; and it is at the best but very scarce in all our southern colonies. Their pastures are covered with a tall rank weed, more like bent than pasture-grass ; which is so rank, hard, and dry, that they make their brooms of it. Such is the produce of their strongest and best lands. As for the poor and sandy soils, which make nine-tenths of the whole in our southern colonies, they are thinly covered with a small sort of this grass, and do not afford a bite for a beast for miles together. Their low grounds and marshes again are covered with nothing but reeds, rushes, and flags, which are their meadow-grounds that should supply the want of grass on their uplands. The hay they mow is nothing but the three-square rush, unless it is raised by art, at a greater expence than it is worth.

A soil and climate which produce so little grass can never abound in corn, which requires  
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the same soil. Lands which abound with one, are always fruitful in the other, & *vice versa*. Such lands, therefore, are as improper for wheat, which requires a strong loamy soil, that is somewhat moist, as they are for hemp and flax, especially in a hot climate. Wheat thrives in this part of the world from Egypt to the middle of Russia, for thirty degrees of latitude ; whereas in North-America, its growth is chiefly confined to seven degrees, and it cannot be said to thrive well but within four degrees, from New-York to the southern parts of Virginia, or from the 41st to the 37th degree of latitude. It was but very lately since they have sown some wheat in the inland parts of South-Carolina, with uncertain success : they never had a grain to the southward of the middle of North-Carolina ; and to the northward of New-England, they have none but the French bled marais. In the northern parts wheat is constantly subject to a blast, or smut, and in the southern to the rust. At the best, the grain is so small, that it yields at least a third less than the lands do in England. Hence they are obliged to quit their plantations as fast as they wear out, and to spread over a whole continent, in order to get a few patches of tobacco, or fields of Indian corn. And it is for these reasons, that corn has become so dear in the colonies, and more valuable to make than any thing for Britain ; a certain sign, that they either want to extend their



settlements, or to alter their staple commodities, if not both.

Since the acquisitions of Canada and Florida, indeed, the British dominions are so much enlarged, that no one seems to imagine, that the colonies can want land: and yet it is very certain, they have just lands enough to supply themselves and their manufacturers; but they hardly produce any thing that will serve to purchase manufactures from Britain. Thus Britain, by the proclamation of October 7th, 1763, confines her colonies to bounds, in which they must necessarily interfere with her; and excludes them from all those territories which might be of service to her, and would keep them from falling into the state that we have represented. This must evidently appear to all who are acquainted with the countries which our colonies possess in North-America, with the nature of the soil and climate, or with their agriculture and staple commodities; but as these are so little understood, they require a more particular consideration. Now all the colonies on the continent make three different countries, the state of which, with regard to their staple commodities, is in brief as follows:

The northern colonies produce nothing wanted in Britain, and are entirely unfit for that purpose; as appears from one hundred and fifty years experience. The length and severity of the winters, the late and backward springs, and shortness  
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of the summer season, are unavoidable obstacles to all such improvements in agriculture.

In Canada and Nova-Scotia, the snow lies six feet deep for six months in the year; and they have hard frosts and snows for a month or six weeks before this severe season, which they call winter: their winters are eight or nine months long, and they have little or no spring or autumn season. The spring does not begin before the month of June; and even in that month, our people who resided at Oswego, in the most southern part of all Canada, observed hard frosts, which destroyed every thing, at that time of year; and the like frosts, in the month of June, are sometimes felt on the warmer sea-coasts of New-England, to the southward of that. These frosts continue all over Canada during the whole summer. When they have not these frosts, they are subject to more pernicious cold winter fogs, which destroy the fruits of the earth in the middle of summer, particularly about the great lakes, and in Nova-Scotia, which is only the sea-coast of Canada; and they are not entirely free from them in a great part of New-England and New-York. Such countries must be very unfit for colonies, which should live merely by their agriculture, or become a prejudice to their mother-country.

Besides the climate, the best and fresh lands in all our northern colonies, which should produce staple commodities for Britain, are worn out by culture. They are obliged to expend their ma-  
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nure on their corn and grafs grounds ; their plantations are too fmall to make ftaple commodities ; and they have many populous towns, which confume the produce of the lands, that fhould be fent to Britain. Hence the produce of thefe colonies is only the overplus of the corn and provifions, which they make for their own ufe, and in a fhort time will be little or none at all, as the people increafe and multiply. There are nigh a million and an half of people in thefe northern colonies, in a country no larger than Ireland, and not by a fourth part fo fruitful. What then can they poffibly have to raife fterling cash to pay taxes, when they have neither ftaple commodities from their agriculture, manufactures, nor a trade in them ? Or, how can it be fupposed, that they can ever purchafe their neceffaries from Britain ? Their only dependence is upon a trade to the Weft-Indies, the fifhery, or the fur-trade ; the laft of which is very inconfiderable ; the firft has been long ago infufficient to maintain fuch a number of people, and is reduced to little or nothing by the great increafe of the people, the addition of more northern colonies, and by the fouthern engaging in it : and the fifhery is the ftaple of New-England, and fource of all their remittances to England, in which Nova-Scotia muft now interfere. If thefe things are confidered, it will be impoffible for the colonies to take almoft any thing from Britain, or to have any connection with her, when they become more populous,



unless they extend their settlements to the southward.

The tobacco colonies enjoy a better soil and climate, and have by that means hitherto had a good staple commodity, which has been of more service to the nation than all the other products of North-America put together, so long as their lands were fresh and fertile ; but most of them are worn out with that exhausting weed, and will no longer bear it : they are then turned into corn and pasture grounds, which produce nothing but corn, cattle, and wool, as in the northern colonies ; and we shall soon want a supply of lands for tobacco, as much as for any thing that North-America will produce. These colonies likewise want some other staple as much as all the rest, if not more. Formerly they made three hogheads of tobacco ahead, where they cannot now make one, while the people are four times as numerous.

The next division contains the southern or rice-colonies, which make the great extent of the British dominions on this side of the Apalachian Mountains ; but it is the great misfortune of the nation, that this extensive part of her dominions, which lies in a climate that might otherwise produce every thing we want from North-America, is as barren as it is unhealthful, and unfit to raise any considerable colonies.

The whole sea-coast of North-America, from the Bay of New-York to the Gulph of Mexico, is a low, flat, sandy beach ; the soil for a great distance  
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from it is sandy and barren ; the climate is very rainy, and as these rains have no drain from the land, but stagnate all over a low flat country, they form innumerable swamps and marshes, which render it very unhealthy. It is a common opinion, that all this part of the continent, which stretches into the ocean at a considerable distance from the rest, has been recovered from the sea, and is nothing but a drained marsh or sand-bank. Accordingly, in all this space, nothing is to be found, either on the surface or in the bowels of the earth, but beds of sea-shells, in place of stones, metals, and other minerals. Many other causes likewise conspire to render these southern coasts of North-America unhealthy ; and as they are barren, and the heats so sultry, that people are not able to undergo the toils of planters in them, they are abandoned almost by all. These southern colonies are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles broad, between the sea and mountains, of which about one half is thus low, flat, and unhealthy.

Thus all these extensive southern parts of North-America produce little or nothing, and the lands are hardly worth cultivating, if it be not in the unhealthy and destructive swamps and marshes ; which they are obliged to be at the immense toil and fatigue of clearing, draining, and cultivating, at the risk of their lives, in order to get rice to supply the place of wheat, and to have pasturage on the low grounds, neither of which the uplands afford.

ford \*. Out of an hundred and odd thousand barrels of rice which they make in a year, Britain consumes but four thousand ; hence they want markets for this, as all our other colonies do for other sorts of corn, which is become the chief produce of them all ; they thereby interfere with one another, depreciate their staple, cannot vend any quantities of it, and are on these accounts unable to make remittances to Britain, to pay their debts, or to purchase their necessaries from hence, which obliges them to enter into manufactures. To settle any more such colonies then as Florida, is only to ruin these, and the interest of Britain in them ; unless we get some other staple for them, which the country will hardly admit of, if it be not silk, and that requires more hands than these unhealthful sea-coasts will breed.

These are the reasons why we have so few people in our southern colonies, and are never likely to have any number by our present proceedings. We think of nothing but extending our settlements still farther on those pestiferous sea-coasts, even to the sunken lagunes of East-Florida, and the barren sands of Mobile and Pensacola ; and to add more drains of people to the many we already have.

None of the southern parts of that continent can ever be planted, without a very great loss of people, but at the distance of an hundred,

\* See a Description of South-Carolina in 1710.



or an hundred and fifty miles from the sea-coast\*.

Besides staple commodities there is another more material point to be considered in the colonies, which is their great and daily increase; and for which, unless we make provision in time, they can never subsist by a dependence on Britain. There are at present nigh three millions of people in them, who may in twenty or thirty years increase to six millions, as many as there are in England, if they have room in that continent to extend their bounds.

It will indeed be very difficult for the people in the colonies to subsist, or become very numerous, in the countries they now possess; but it will be as difficult, if not impracticable, to confine them to those bounds. So soon as planters want land they starve; and to avoid that, people will do any thing. It is for this reason, that although they are confined in their bounds by the proclamation of October 7th, 1763, yet they pay no regard to it. Thus the use the nation has for new settlements and acquisitions in North-America, is for the great increase of the people who are already

\* The acute diseases in these unhealthful parts of North-America generally turn to intermittents, which are not mortal, even in twenty months; but in a few months more bring on that cachexy, with an emaciated habit, a swelled belly, and pale fallow complexion, which is the characteristic of the bad state of health in all the southern and maritime parts of North-America; after which acute diseases are mortal, and chronic diseases incurable, without a change of air and climate.

there,

there, and to enable them to subsist by a dependence upon her ; which they can never do, unless they extend their settlements. The test therefore of all our acquisitions is, whether will the people in the colonies, who want lands to make staple commodities for Britain, remove to them ? It is only by this rule, that we can judge of the utility of any acquisitions or new settlements to Britain. But will any planter in North-America remove either to Canada or Florida ? Is it not obvious to every one, that such a removal would be from bad to worse, if it may not perhaps be to get a rice plantation or two, in the destructive swamps and marshes ? We already have but too many such poor and barren lands, and inhospitable climates, and these are much worse than what we had before.

The only advantage of these acquisitions proceeds from the expulsion of our enemies from them, and not from the settling of colonies, for which they are totally unfit. By the reduction of Canada and Florida, the colonies have such a security from the enemy, by which they were before surrounded, that they may extend their settlements with safety, and cultivate those lands which may both enrich them and the whole nation : but of such lands, there are none either in Canada or Florida ; and to exclude the colonies from all others, for the sake of these deserts, is to deprive the nation of all the advantages which might otherwise be reaped from the reduction of them, and of the very object for which the nation engaged in such an expensive war.

The

The fruitful part of the British dominions is divided into three different countries by the mountains, which run through the middle of them, from north to south ; and from their southern extremity, they run west to the Mississippi, forming two ridges, in shape of the letter L. On the east side of these mountains lie the territories possessed by our southern colonies ; on the west are the territories of the Ohio ; and on the south are what we call the territories of the Mississippi ; the two last being divided from one another by the Western or Chickesaw mountains, which run through them from Carolina to the Mississippi. Thus the fruitful parts of the British dominions are divided into three, which we may call the east, west, and south divisions ; each of which contains, at most, about fifty thousand square miles of good and fertile land, and forms a country about the size of England, in climates that are fit to produce every thing the nation wants.

Now, it is the southern division which we ought to settle in the first place. This extends from the sea-coast of Georgia to the Mississippi, and is bounded on the north by the Western or Chickesaw mountains, and on the south by the Gulph of Mexico : the whole of this country is about five hundred miles in length, from east to west ; and four degrees of latitude, or two hundred and forty miles broad, of which one half, on the sea-coast, is the barren desert of Florida above described ; the rest is the fruitful part of the country, which  
we



we would propose to settle. This makes about sixty thousand square miles, of which we possess about ten thousand in Georgia and Carolina, and have fifty thousand to settle from thence to the Mississippi.

This country may be divided into two parts, the eastern division in Carolina and Georgia, and the western on the Mississippi; which would make two good colonies. The last of these, known by the name of the country of the Natches, on the Mississippi, which extends from the island of New Orleans to the Chickesaw mountains, is well known to be by far the best and most fruitful country in all these southern parts of North-America; and extends from the Mississippi to the river Coussa, which falls into the Bay of Mobile; making a rich and fertile country, about two hundred miles square, which would perhaps produce more than all these southern parts of the continent put together, from hence to Virginia. In all that distance, we do not meet with a good and fruitful country of any extent, if it be not in the inland parts of North-Carolina, which is but very narrow, and has neither a convenient water-carriage from it, nor a good port belonging to it. The only other fruitful country in these southern parts of the continent, is in the inland parts of Georgia, on the heads of the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's, with Flint river adjoining; which was recommended by the Spaniards as the most proper place for a settlement, after they had searched the whole country, from the Cape of Florida to the Mississippi; and some

people who lived in the country, at the forks of the Alatamaha, have given us the same account of it, and of the countries adjacent.

If this country in Georgia was annexed to South-Carolina, as far as the river Chatahoochè, it would soon be settled, and would make that a very respectable colony on our southern frontiers, which would soon join to the other on the Mississippi, and they might thereby support one another, without any charge to the nation\*. It is well known, that Georgia was only separated from Carolina to please the Indians, who would not suffer the Carolinians to settle to the southward of the river, after their quarrel with them in the year 1715; but that is now rather a reason for enlarging and strengthening that colony, which, in  
one

\* The only obstacle to this junction of Carolina with the Mississippi, proceeds from the Creek and Chaſtaw Indians, who lie in the way; but that obstacle might be removed, by proper management. We got possession of Carolina by two powerful nations of Indians who held it engaging in war with one another; in which most of them were extirpated, and the rest afterwards fled to the peninsula of Florida. If these Indians were settled there again, they might be out of the way both of harm and mischief, which they will ever be in where they are. A great part of them left that country, only in the year 1715, where they might get their living by fishing and hunting better than where they are, or nigh our plantations, which extirpate them.

If these and all the other Indians in the British dominions, were at the same time deprived of fire arms, we might be rid of all future trouble from them; and that might now easily be done,  
when

One hundred years, is hardly able to defend itself against its intestine foes, the negroes and Indians. This state it has been reduced to by dismembering it, and erecting a separate colony, which has no people hardly in it to this day, and is not able to support its own government, notwithstanding the vast charges it has cost, amounting to two hundred thousand pounds, at least, more than was ever before expended on all the colonies we have. For these reasons, it is proposed to annex Georgia to South-Carolina, to which it properly belongs, and which it might strengthen; and, in lieu of this, North Carolina should be extended to Wi-neau, as that is the only port to all the inland and fruitful parts of that country, which hardly produces any thing for want of such a port, although,  
in

when they have none to supply them. It is only by this means that their insurrections are to be prevented, and with more humanity than by endeavouring to extirpate them. If ever Florida is peopled and cultivated, it will only be by the Indians, who are a vast advantage to Spain, and might be rendered as serviceable to Britain, instead of a perpetual annoyance, by supplying them with implements of husbandry.

Another cause of these insurrections of the Indians, proceeds from the banditti of Indian traders who go among them, and are worse than the Indians themselves. They are there out of reach of the law, and observe no one law of civil society. The sending of such people among the Indians begets that familiarity which gives them a contempt of the whole nation; but by keeping them more in awe, and at a distance, without such parley and talks with them, they would have a greater respect for it. For these reasons, their trade should



in point of fertility, it is of more value than all the rest of Carolina and Georgia put together.

Now, if this were done, and all the straggling and unprofitable settlements of Canada, Nova-Scotia, East and West Florida, were united in one on the Mississippi, the nation might be rid of an enormous expence in “defending, protecting, and securing them;” they would secure these more valuable parts of the British dominions, and by being united together might be able to defend themselves; the nation would thereby have lands for all the planters we have, instead of obliging them to enter into manufactures for want of lands to cultivate; and we should thus have two good and profitable colonies in the southern parts of America, which might supply the nation with the many valuable commodities that are so much wanted, and would produce more for Britain than all

be confined to one or two places, where justice might be done, and good order preserved. For this purpose, Oswego in the north, and Augusta in the south, would be sufficient for all the Indian trade in North-America; if it be not what New-England has so well established and regulated in the east, by the same means. If their trade were confined to these two places, the northern Indians would be drawn to Canada, and the great lakes, where the furs are to be had, and where they could only find a vent for them; and the southern Indians would find it as convenient to settle in their former country of Florida; by which the nation would reap the benefit of both these acquisitions, much better than by being at such an expence, both of men and money, to settle and protect them; and the Indians would, at the same time, leave all the fruitful parts here mentioned for us to cultivate.

our colonies in North-America. Had Carolina been a fruitful and healthful country, it would long ago have been the most considerable and profitable colony the nation has; and the only way to render both that country and Florida of service to the nation, is, to settle the inland and western parts, which are as fruitful and healthful as the eastern and maritime parts, to which we are confined, are the reverse of both: and when these are peopled and secured, it will be easy to extend our settlements up the Mississippi, and across both the Apalachian and Chickesaw mountains to the territories of the Ohio, by which we may secure, people, and cultivate every part of the British dominions that can be of any service to the nation.



### The Inland Parts of LOUISIANA described.

**T**HE whole country, from the island of New-Orleans to the rivers Ohio and Illinois, is the richest and most fruitful of any in the British dominions, and extends upwards of a thousand miles, containing more fruitful lands than are in all our colonies put together. There are no good lands in all North-America but upon the sides of rivers, and as the Mississippi is so much larger than all the other rivers in that continent, the lands upon it are as much more extensive and fertile. This we are assured of, by those who were sent from Vir-

ginia, in 1742, on purpose to survey those countries, who reported, “ they saw more land on the Mississippi, and its many large branches, than they judged was in all the English colonies, as far as they are inhabited.” The same is confirmed by the French, who tell us from experience of them, “ the lands on both sides of the Mississippi are excellent for culture, and produce Indian corn, tobacco, indigo, &c. and all kinds of provisions, with little or no care or labour, and almost without culture; the soil being a black mould, of an excellent quality \*”. More particularly in the country of the Natches above-mentioned, we are told by a planter of sixteen years experience in that country, the soil is a fertile mould, three feet deep on the hills, and five or six feet deep in the vallies, with a strong clayey foundation †; the like of which is certainly not to be seen any where else, in all these southern parts of North-America. Even the hill-sides are covered with canes, which in our colonies only grow in the deepest and richest swamps.

Such lands have a natural moisture in them, which is the very soil that both hemp, flax, and indigo delight in; and these are the three first commodities that the nation wants from the colonies. Upon such lands, hemp and flax might be made in quantities, as a staple commodity, to send to Britain; whereas, on the poor lands in our colonies, and their small plantations, they can only make a

\* Du Mont, *Memoires de la Louisiane*, tom. i. p. 16.

† Du Pratz *Hist. Louisiana*, tom. i. p. 263.



little for their own use. The one would be of the greatest service, when the other is a prejudice to the nation. The climate likewise is as fit for these commodities. Here hemp and flax might be sown in winter, which is the only proper season for them in any part of North-America. This would afford time for making another crop in summer, which should be indigo. Every labourer might cultivate two acres, or more, in hemp, and one or two in indigo, the produce of which would be worth from thirty to forty pounds a-year. This would enable them to purchase negroes, and to enlarge the British plantations, beyond what they are otherwise capable of. Such plantations would be more profitable than even sugar-colonies, and supply the nation with more valuable and necessary articles. A hundred thousand labourers, which might be easily found in all our colonies, taken together, would at the rate of twenty pounds a head, make two millions a year; but suppose they make only one half of this, it is as much as all our colonies in North-America now produce. If we compare this with the barren deserts of Canada and Florida, what a wide difference is there!

By this means, the nation might get the trade, both of indigo, hemp, and flax, and supply all Europe with those commodities, as we now do with tobacco; which last these lands are fit to produce, in much greater plenty and perfection than any other part of North-America: and when our to-

bacco plantations are worn out, there are no lands to supply their place in all the British dominions, but those on the Mississippi. There are three things necessary for a tobacco plantation ; to wit, rich and fertile lands, good pasturage for maintaining stocks of cattle for manure, and an inland navigation, with convenient ports, to ship off such a gross and bulky commodity from every plantation ; which three conveniences are only found in the tobacco plantations, and on the Mississippi. Our tobacco planters, therefore, may find others there, when their old plantations are worn out, as most of them already are, and will all be in time. It is but five hundred miles, in a straight line, from the sea coast of Carolina and Georgia, which is no great way to go for good lands in North-America.

Thus we see, that the territories of the Ohio and Mississippi are very fit to produce tobacco, indigo, hemp, and flax, which are the grand staple commodities of North-America ; and it is to produce these, that lands are wanted there. These are likewise the proper crops for fresh wood-lands, or new settlements. Lands which will not produce these at first, are not worth possessing. In a few years they are worn out, and will hardly yield the necessaries of life. It is for this reason, that on our poor plantations, fresh lands will always be wanted for these commodities, which no other part of the British dominions will produce. Here likewise planters have the necessaries of life, with little or no cost or labour, which is as necessary to make staple commodities

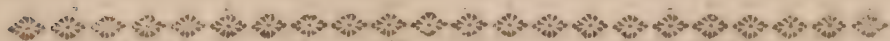
dities for Britain. The pastures are covered with green grafs knee-high, the like of which is not to be seen in any other part of North-America ; such lands yield three and fourscore bushels of corn to an acre, and the cattle maintain themselves the whole year, without the charge of feeding them \*. Hence the country abounds with wild kine, a large creature, like an ox, with a fleece like a sheep, the wool, hides, and tallow of which are of great value ; but in our colonies the pasturage is so poor, that there are none to be seen.

At the same time, these countries are as healthful as they are fruitful. The whole country above the island of New-Orleans to the river Ohio, is high, dry, and hilly, refreshed with cooling breezes from the adjacent mountains, which assuage the heat of the climate, and render it healthful. The banks of the Mississippi, on the east side, are from one hundred to two and three hundred feet high, without a marsh near them. It is likewise observed, throughout all these countries on the Mississippi, that it seldom rains. The Apalachian mountains intercept the clouds brought up from the ocean. How different this, from the low, flat, sandy, marshy and rainy sea-coasts of all our southern colonies. If the nation would people the southern parts of North-America, or expect any indemnity for her expences in the late war, it can only be obtained from these countries, which were the immediate objects of the war.

\* See Du Pratz, *ibid.*



When these lands are cleared, and exhausted with tobacco, indigo, hemp, and flax, they will produce silk, cotton, wine and oil, for ever, which are the great commodities that this nation wants. It is such commodities as these that we should call acquisitions: these are the proper produce of North-America, and render colonies there so beneficial to Britain, but of much less consequence either to France or Spain. They make these commodities at home, and would be losers by making them in North-America. Colonies there, whose staple must soon be silk, wine, and oil, could not depend upon France or Spain: hence, it is the greatest folly in them, to endeavour to raise colonies in North-America; such a false policy can only be equalled by Britain's confining her colonies to countries whose staple is corn and wool. The island of Hispaniola is of more service to France than North-America; and if we are excluded from the Mississippi, Britain will lose by her successes, what France has gained by her defeats—profitable colonies in America.



### The true Means of improving the NORTH-AMERICAN COLONIES.

**T**HE singular and peculiar climate of North-America hardly agrees with any one thing that is commonly proposed to be planted in it, and the  
foil

foil is as unfuitable to many others. The productions of Europe are there either destroyed by the long and intense colds in the north, or burnt up by the sun in the south, especially on their scorching sands. Hence there is hardly any of them that will thrive in our colonies, as the staple of a country ought to do: the causes of this would abundantly appear from a due account of the climate of North-America. From certain observations in both Europe and America, for thirty years together, we are well assured, that there is a difference of at least fourteen or fifteen degrees of latitude between the respective climates in these two continents; it being so much colder there than here \*, consequently, we can expect nothing to grow there

\* This coldness of the climate, which is felt all over North-America, appears to proceed, chiefly and principally, from the three following causes, besides others which conspire with them, particularly the nature of the soil.

I. America extends farther north than any other part of the world, and by that means is so much colder. Europe is surrounded by the warmer ocean, which is always open; Asia, by an icy sea, (the *mare glaciale*); and America by a frozen continent, which occasions the diversity of climates in these three continents.

II. That continent, which is thus extensive in the northern parts, is one entire groupe of high mountains, covered with snow, or rather with ice, throughout the whole year. These mountains rise in the most northern parts of the continent that have been discovered in Baffin's Bay, and spread all over it to New-England. Hence the coast of Labrador is the highest of any in the world, and may be descried at the distance of forty leagues; and in the western parts, discovered by the Russians,

there as it does here. It is for this reason, that the nation is disappointed, and every one is so much deceived about North-America.

In such singular climates, few or no products of the earth will thrive, as the staple of a country should do, but the natural productions of the soil and climate; and we must plant and improve these, if we would have proper staple commodities for our colonies, of which many might be found. Of this we have a remarkable instance, in the very first commodities the nation wants from North-America, which are hemp and flax: the European hemp or flax neither agrees with the soil or climate; but you may there have at least five or six sorts of these commodities, which are natural  
to

sians, they tell us, "the country had terrible high mountains, covered with snow in the month of July." This was in latitude 58 degrees, and the country to the southward of that, in 40 degrees, is by the Spaniards called *sierras nevadas*, snowy mountains. So a ridge of mountains rise at Cape Tourmente, by Quebec, and run four or five hundred leagues, forming the greatest ridge of mountains in the universe, which spread over all the northern parts of the continent. These are what we call the Northern snowy mountains.

III. All the countries which lie within the verge of these mountains, or north of New-England, are perpetually involved in frosts, snows, or thick fogs; and the colds which are felt in the south, proceed from these frozen regions in the north, by violent north-west winds. These are the peculiar winds of that continent, and blow with a fury which no wind exceeds. It appears from many observations, that they blow quite across the Atlantic Ocean to Europe. The great lakes of Canada, which are inland seas, extending north-west for twelve or  
thirteen



to both. You may find much better and stronger hemp there, on the mereft barren fands, than the richeft lands in Europe will produce. It is from fuch a production of their colonies, which is as common in them as hemp or flax are in Europe, and as generally manufactured, that the Spaniards make many manufactures preferable to any of the kind that we have feen; they have three or four different forts of it, and we might have five or fix more forts from our colonies, as well as many other valuable commodities. But they have been at the pains to explore the productions of their plantations, and by that means get fo many valuable returns from them, which we have entirely neglected, and thereby get fo little from ours. We do not ufe any productions of the country, and others will not thrive in it. The only rule we feem to

thirteen hundred miles, give force and direction to thefe winds, which blow from the northern frozen regions, and bring the climate of Hudfon's Bay to the moft fouthern parts of that continent, whenever they blow for any time.

Many imagine, that thefe colds proceed from the fnows lying in the woods; but that is the effect, and not the caufe of the cold. They who attribute this to the woods do not diftinguifh between wet and cold, or the damp of wood-lands and frofts, which are very different things. Thefe colds are fo far from being occafioned by the woods, that one half of that continent, which is the coldeft, and from which they proceed, has not a wood in it; and is fo barren, that it does not bear a tree or a bufh. It is from this want of woods in the northern parts, and the great lakes, that thefe furious winds proceed; which are very much abated by the woods. In the woods, thefe cold winds

to have for improving our colonies, is to make such commodities in them as the merchants and traders want, whether they will produce them or not.

The staple commodities commonly proposed for the colonies will not maintain them, and for that reason they are obliged to manufacture them. To maintain such a number of people, and whole countries, by such employments, they should have a variety and number of them, and such as are more profitable. By doing things only by halves, we obstruct the design altogether. We should either promote these designs to some purpose, or let them alone. Every thing that has been done in them, to promote the interest of Britain, has only served to establish the manufactures of the colonies, from the making of iron, to hemp and flax. Unless they  
have

winds may be endured ; but in the open fields, they are insufferable either to man or beast, and that even in our southern colonies. Hence, if all the woods in that continent were cleared, Canada and Nova-Scotia would be as uninhabitable as Hudson's Bay, our northern colonies as cold as Canada, and the adjacent southern colonies in the situation of the northern. Let us not deceive ourselves, therefore, with the vain hopes of mending nature, and abating the rigor of these inhospitable climes ; that is not to be done, but by cutting off, at least, twenty degrees of that continent in the north, and levelling the innumerable snowy mountains.

No part of the world can be compared to this in point of climate but the eastern parts of Asia, which are almost contiguous to America in the north, and are exposed to the like cold winds from the continent. Hence it appears, from comparing many  
observa-

have some other more valuable commodities, they can never send these to Britain.

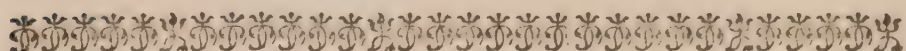
By being all employed in planting one or two commodities, as tobacco and rice, the people starve one another, when they become numerous, and are obliged to leave off planting altogether. These two, indeed, afford employment for labourers throughout the whole year, for which reason they are so generally planted; but other commodities are very different in this respect. The making either of silk, wine, or oil, alone, does not employ the labourers above two or three months in the year, and for that reason will not maintain them; and as they have no other employments, they cannot follow any one of these. This is the great obstacle to all these improvements in the colonies. Thus they complain, for example, they cannot live by making silk, as they make but a pound or two in a season; but as this requires only six weeks in the spring of the year, if they had a crop to succeed this in summer, and a vintage after both in autumn, as they have in all countries where these commodities are

observations in both, that our colonies enjoy the same climate with East-Tartary, China, Corea, and Japan, the products of which are so rich and valuable. Here then we might have many of the most valuable commodities for the colonies; and as these are so totally different from any thing that Britain produces, they might for ever keep the colonies from interfering with their mother-country, and preserve a lasting connection and correspondence between them. Most of the staple commodities of America came from the East, as sugar, rice, cotton, coffee, indigo, &c.

made,



made, they might from them all get a better living than by manufactures, which they cannot do by any one of them alone. It is only by these means that whole countries can ever be maintained, merely by their agriculture, without manufactures.



### REMARKS on the TRADE and late REGULATIONS of the COLONIES.

BY the custom-house accompts, from the year 1756 to 1765, inclusive, the following is the state of the trade between Great-Britain and North-America, on an average :

Exports from Britain	_____	£.	2,037,577
Imports into Britain	_____		857,056
			-----
Balance due to Britain	_____		1,180,521
			-----

Total Exports in these nine years	—	£.	18,338,199
Total Imports	_____		7,713,506
			-----

Total Balance due to Britain in nine years 10,624,693

Now, as the colonies exported to the value of eighteen millions, and owe five or six millions to Britain, they cannot have paid more than thirteen millions in these nine years, which is one million four hundred and forty-four thousand pounds per annum ; and as people who are so much in debt  
are

are obliged to pay their all, this must be their annual income, and agrees with the above account of their produce.

Now, as their enumerated commodities amount to	£. 767,000
The value of their non-enumerated commodities	
must be	677,000
	<hr/>
Total	1,444,000

But as the entries at the custom-house are well known to exceed the real value of the exports, this income of the colonies cannot be so much as these accounts make it, and cannot exceed one million four hundred thousand pounds per annum.

Besides this, they owe a public debt of seven hundred and sixty-seven thousand pounds. Thus their public and private debts amount to more than six millions of money ; the interest of which alone, at five per cent, comes to three hundred and fifty thousand pounds ; but as many of them pay eight per cent. according to the custom of the trade, the interest of their debts may be reckoned half a million a-year ; especially, if we add the loss they sustain in the exchange by making remittances of money, which has of late been thirty and forty per cent. and the ten per cent. they pay on protested bills, with six per cent. per annum till they are discharged. If we add this to the balance of trade they owe to Britain, the two amount to their whole income.

If we deduct this interest of their debts, loss of exchange, and protested bills, from their income

above-mentioned, their net income is but nine hundred thousand pounds a-year; which is the whole of what all the colonies in North-America have to purchase their necessaries from Britain. This sum, divided among three millions of people, is but six shillings a-head per annum. Even if we allow their income to be a million and a half a-year, it is but ten shillings a head.

Thus the colonies have to discharge a debt of six or seven millions, to pay an annual balance of nigh one million, and to maintain three millions of people, out of an income of a million and a half a-year, at most, which is certainly impracticable. How then does it appear, "they can certainly bear more, they ought to pay more?" as we are told by the author of the late Regulations concerning the colonies.

To supply them with necessaries from Britain, not to mention many other articles, would require at least three pounds a-head. At this rate, three millions of people would spend nine millions a-year; but as their income is only a million and a half, the difference of seven millions and a half must be looked upon as a national loss, which we render irreparable by taxes, duties, confinement of their settlements, &c. all which oblige them to supply themselves: and, by these proceedings, we deprive the nation of the advantages which might be reaped from the colonies, for the impracticable attempt of raising one hundred thousand pounds, to maintain Canada and Florida.

Their



Their expences in the war have involved them in great part of this debt. It appears from the certificate of the commander in chief, that he had twenty thousand provincial troops under his command, besides what they had in other services: to pay these troops, they raised about six millions, and owe that sum to Britain.

In these circumstances, it is impossible that they should have any money. The balance of trade they owe to Britain would, in one year, drain them of all the money they have, were it five times more than it is. They have no way to get money but by a trade to the West-Indies, the balance of which is against them. Hence, in all these colonies, you hardly meet with any thing but paper money. This paper occasions a trade and circulation, it is true; but as the balance of that trade is so much against them, it drains them of their current cash.

Thus their trade and paper-currency drain them of that money which their agriculture brings in; and obliges them to make their own necessaries, instead of purchasing them here.

But if this is the case of the most fruitful countries, what can we ever expect from North-America? or from the produce of the poor and mean lands there, the greatest part of which will hardly yield the bare necessaries of life? What could any one ever expect from a little tobacco, rice, pitch and tar, or fish, the chief products of North-America, to maintain two or three millions of people.

The advantages of the North-American trade seem not to be considered in a public light. If

they are of small value, they are, on that account, more profitable to the public ; because they are gross and bulky, by which they are sources of navigation, and support the maritime power of the nation. If you calculate the freight, commission, and charges, on the products of North-America, they amount to half their value ; which is all clear gain to Britain, but is so much deducted from the income of the colonies.

Thus the colonies, which produce staple commodities for Britain, are a much greater advantage to the nation than seems to be apprehended. They pay, one with another, one half of all that they make, for transporting and vending the rest, which is all expended in Britain. By that means, you get their all, and cannot possibly have any more. Were they to have the profits only of transporting and vending their own products, their income would be double of what it is ; but as these are now all reaped by Britain, to deprive it of this, is to rob the nation of its best income. This is the advantage of the colonies, and the tax which they pay for their protection ; which is much more advantageous to the nation than a petty revenue.

Besides this deduction on their products, and the heavy duties upon them, the colonies pay all the taxes of Britain on every thing they consume ; as it is well known, all taxes fall on the consumers, whoever may first pay them. Now, as these taxes on British goods amount at least to fifty or sixty per cent. is not this much more advantageous

vantageous to the nation than a petty revenue ? Were they to pay one hundred thousand pounds in taxes, they must supply themselves with manufactures to that value : the public would lose the taxes and duties on these goods, the merchants their profits, and the nation the benefit of the trade and navigation ; which losses would amount to twice or thrice as much as the tax. “ We would therefore humbly recommend it to such gentlemen as are guardians of the trade of the nation, (says Mr. Gee) that our own interest is not mistaken for that of the planters.” Instead of taking money from them, he, who was a very good judge, thinks it necessary to lend them money, to improve their plantations, for the benefit of Britain. Without such improvements on their lands, it will be impossible for them to purchase a tenth part of their manufactures from Britain.

But we are told, “ they do not plead poverty, but privilege.” It appears, by many letters from the colonies, that their great objection against internal taxes was, the being taxed by those who were unacquainted with their condition and circumstances, and the proper ways of levying such taxes among them, or the consequences of them ; and that the proposed taxes and regulations would be highly detrimental to the mother-country : but as these were not regarded, it put them upon making the plea of privilege.

But it is urged, “ the whole sum expected to be raised by the stamp-duty was one hundred thou-



land pounds a-year ; the repartition of this upon one million five hundred thousand people, at which the lowest computation estimates the present inhabitants of that country, would not draw from each person more than half the value of a day's labour in North-America \*.

If their circumstances are bad, it is alledged, “ England has even furnished them with resources to raise the revenue she has required ; the bounties given to them on flax, hemp, and timber, would enable them to support the new impositions.” But these bounties have proved ineffectual. Timber will not bear the charge of transportation from North-America, and if they make  
hemp

\* We are told by the author of the Regulations, p. 61, “ they can earn three shillings and sixpence per diem by their agriculture ;” to wit, by making tobacco at a penny a pound, or corn at two or three shillings a bushel, by which, it is certain, they do not earn as many pence a day. In the tobacco-colonies they make more by their agriculture than in any others ; and although they are or have been all employed in it, yet eight hundred thousand people make but about three hundred thousand pounds a-year by their tobacco, which is but seven shillings and sixpence a-head per annum ; and not above ten or twelve shillings, including all the other branches of their agriculture. The labourers, who are about a fifth or sixth part, make about fifty shillings a-head per annum, or three pounds at most, which is but two-pence a day ; and that appears to be the value of labour on plantations in North-America.

They who estimate the price of labour in the colonies, by the day, do not know what their labour is, and much less the value of it. There is no such thing as day-labourers on plantations, and it is inconsistent with the design of them, to admit of any.

On

hemp or flax, it is only for their own manufactures, which will not furnish them with sterling cash to pay taxes, unless they vend their manufactures, which such an imposition must have forced them to do. It must indeed be owned, that the granting of this bounty was a very just and commendable measure, and intended for the benefit of the nation ; but the misfortune is, this, with all the others, are more likely to prove a loss and detriment, than any benefit, either to Great-Britain or the colonies.

Besides these pretended resources, it is alledged, “ the increase of the establishments there furnishes them with another fund, which alone would more than balance the account. These establishments are in Canada, Nova-Scotia, Georgia, East and West Florida, with which the colonies have nothing to do. All that they can expect from these new settlements

On plantations, every one is employed by the year, in order to make a crop, which lasts for a twelvemonth. Now, the wages of such labourers are four or five pounds a year for men, and forty shillings for women, who are the chief manufacturers ; this brings the price of labour, at a medium, to three pounds a-year, which is but two-pence a day, for every day in the year.

The dearness of day-labour in the colonies proceeds from two causes ; first, the labourers who are thus employed by the year, in order to make a crop of staple commodities for Britain, and their provisions with it, may lose their whole crop by neglecting it for a few days, and cannot spare a day's work, without losing ten times as much as it is worth, and perhaps their whole year's subsistence.

Secondly, If there are any common labourers to be found, who are not engaged by the year, as there seldom are, they can-

lements is, to interfere with them, and cut off so much of their resources in remittances to Britain, which must prove equally prejudicial to both.

It is a very fallacious argument to say, “the expenditure was restrained to that country;” because it was ordered, “that all the produce of the American duties should be paid to the deputy-paymaster in America, to defray the subsistence of the troops;” for these troops were kept in the new governments, Canada, Nova-Scotia, and Florida, and not in the colonies which were to have paid this money for their subsistence.

It was proposed to have raised one hundred thousand pounds annually by the stamps, and nigh as much more by the customs and duties on their trade, which appears, by all accounts, to be as much money as is in all the North-American co-

not find employment for above a few days in a month perhaps; and for that reason, they must have as much for two or three days work, as will maintain them for as many weeks; but at the year's end, they have not perhaps earned two-pence a day for all the wages they may get, which is generally a shilling a day, sterling cash.

About populous towns the case is very different, and labour much dearer: they do not there make the necessaries of life, which enhances the price of labour; they have likewise a variety of employments, and a demand for labourers, who are employed on plantations in the country, and by that means are scarce and dear. Thus we are not to estimate the price of labour from a few towns, as Boston, New-York, or Philadelphia, which we only hear of in Britain. These are not plantations, but trading or manufacturing towns.

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lonies : this they were so sensible of, that though we are told here, “ they did not plead poverty, but privilege ;” yet the faculty of lawyers, in New-Jersey in particular, gave it as their opinion to the chief justice, “ there was not as much money in the country as would pay the stamp-duties alone for one year ;” and the same was generally believed in all the other colonies, including the other taxes. Hence, the execution of the stamp-act must at any rate have been impracticable, and as ruinous in its consequence, especially to Britain, as it was, by all true friends of liberty, deemed in itself to be arbitrary and unjust.

The plausible pretence, indeed, that is used for all these measures, is, that “ this expence is necessary for their own defence and protection.” Can it be supposed, that these colonies, which are now so much more populous and powerful than ever, and are entirely free from an enemy, by which they were before surrounded, can now want any such defence and protection ? They never before had above four, or at most six, independent companies in all North-America ; and can they now want fifteen regiments ?

Besides, the colonies are defended by their militia, which they are at great expence to raise and train : every person in them, capable of the service, is obliged to bear arms, and to be provided with them at their own expence ; and such an expence of a standing army, with their militia, is the  
more

more grievous, as they have no manner of use nor occasion for it. They who would make that expence necessary for their protection, do not understand what their safety and security consist in. The colonies must defend themselves with their hands, and not with their purses. If any service of this kind is expected from them, it must be a *servitium in capite*, a personal service, and not a pecuniary service, in sterling cash. In the last war but one, the colonies were repaid the money they expended in defending themselves, and protecting his majesty's dominions, as it was thought they could not well bear the burden of one or two hundred thousand pounds; but now, the authors of the stamp-act and regulations, would have exacted money from them, when they had raised six millions, and had quite exhausted themselves by these public services.

The protection of all the British dominions, both at home and abroad, depends upon the fleets and maritime powers of Great-Britain; and not on a few troops dispersed up and down in the deserts of Canada and Florida, at such a distance from all the colonies on that continent, as well as every other part of the king's dominions, that they can neither defend them, nor be defended by them. This protection, which the colonies both want and get from the mother-country, they support and maintain by the trade and navigation to them, and by paying the charges of all the British ships and

and mariners, numerous as they are, which are concerned in that trade: for this they pay at least one half of their whole income, which is the tax they pay for their protection; and is as great a one, if not greater, than is paid by any British subjects; and ten times more advantageous to this nation than all the taxes that were imposed upon them could ever have been\*.

It is upon this trade to the plantations, that the safety of the whole nation depends, and more parti-

\* Total amount of British ships and seamen employed in the trade between Great-Britain and her colonies on the continent of America, of the value of goods exported from Great-Britain to these colonies, and of their produce exported to Great-Britain and elsewhere; on an average of three years.

Colonies	Ships	Seamen	Exp. from G. Brit.	Exp. from Colonies.
Hudson's Bay	4	130	£. 16,000	£. 29,340
Labrador	}			49,050
American vessels, 120				
Newfoundland (2000 boats)	380	20,560	273,400	345,000
Canada	34	408	105,000	105,500
Nova-Scotia	6	72	26,500	38,000
New-England	46	552	395,000	370,000
Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and New-Hampshire	3	36	12,000	114,500
New-York	30	330	531,000	526,000
Pennsylvania	35	390	611,000	705,500
Virginia and Maryland	330	3,900	865,000	1,040,000
North-Carolina	34	408	18,000	68,350
South-Carolina	140	1,680	365,000	395,666
Georgia	24	240	49,000	74,200
St. Augustine	2	24	7,000	
Pensacola	10	120	97,000	63,300
	1,078	28,910	3,370,900	3,924,606

cularly



cularly of Great-Britain itself. It ought never to be forgot, for the safety of Great-Britain, what was so very remarkable in the spring of the year 1756, when England was threatened with an invasion, and could not man a fleet for six weeks, on account of an easterly wind which blew during the whole time of that imminent danger, till a westerly wind brought our ships home from America, after which our fleet was manned in a week or two. To ruin this trade to the colonies, therefore, as it must have been, for the sake of a petty revenue, which could neither be paid nor collected, was the certain way to deprive the whole nation, both at home and abroad, of the only safety and security it enjoys. Of this we have another most convincing proof, during the very short time that these regulations lasted in America; when we are told, by a very good judge, and credible eye-witness on the spot, that "twenty thousand seamen and fishermen were turned out of employ, and the shipping they used to navigate and improve, were hauled up, and laid by as useless."

This loss of trade by the late regulations is the more to be regarded, as they seem to have been calculated on purpose to ruin the colonies of New-England; which are, and always have been, the bulwark of all the British dominions in America, to whom this nation owes both the fishery of Newfoundland, the only thing in British America that wants protection, and all her other possessions in the northern parts of that continent.

How

How insufficient the troops kept in North-America are to protect the colonies, abundantly appeared upon the late insurrection of the Indians. The troops were dispersed in the deserts of Canada and Florida, from Quebec to Pensacola, Mobile, and St. Augustine, at such a distance from the colonies, that they could give them no relief: they could not be drawn out of garrison there, lest those acquisitions should be left entirely defenceless; and by that means the colonies, waiting for their assistance, were over-run and massacred by a few Indians, for a year or two together; till some volunteers from Virginia and Pennsylvania joined a small party of the troops, and subdued them. Now, if the colonies should be invaded by a foreign enemy, what protection could they expect from these troops, who could not defend them from a handful of Indians?

Hence it clearly appears, that this expence, which is so burdensome to the nation, is entirely needless. All the conquests made by the glorious successes of the war, amounting in value to six or seven millions a-year, were given up for these deserts of Canada and Florida; and for that reason they must be supported as valuable acquisitions, although at a great expence, and to the ruin of the nation. This was the design, and only use, of taxing the colonies, or of keeping such a force in North-America, after both Canada and Cape Breton are reduced.

As for the defence and security of our colonies, Crown-Point and Niagara would have secured

cured them, both from the Indians and French, even when they were in possession of Canada, and much more now, when they are drove out of it; but Quebec and Montreal will do neither. These, or Florida, are no greater security to our colonies, than a fort in the Orkneys would be to England. The security we obtain is from the expulsion of our enemies, and not from maintaining them in the country, to put the nation again to all the expences which have been so lately incurred on their account. The only object in all these northern parts of America is the fishery, for which Canada is of no use nor service; Canada can be nothing but a factory for the fur trade, and Nova-Scotia only a fishing settlement, of both which this nation already has too many.

It has indeed been given out, that these taxes on the colonies were to relieve the subject at home; but even if the colonies had paid their taxes, Britain would have been involved in an additional debt, for the support of Canada and Florida, over and above that aid. The whole of the intended taxes on the colonies amount to one hundred and sixty thousand pounds a-year, when the expence incurred is nigh five hundred thousand pounds; wherefore, Great-Britain must still have been burdened with a charge of three hundred thousand pounds per annum, over and above what the colonies were to have paid; by which last, she must have lost twice or thrice as much. Thus the whole charge and loss to Great-Britain would have been  
between



between six hundred thousand pounds and seven hundred thousand pounds, a-year, with the probable loss of her interest in the colonies to the bargain. Thus the nation is doubly indebted to the colonies, for saving her this needless and ruinous expence.

As for the making of a profitable colony of Canada and Nova-Scotia, that is contrary to nature itself. Unless they live by their agriculture, they can be of no use or service to this nation ; but that is certainly not to be expected, either in Canada or Nova-Scotia. Their agriculture would not even maintain the colonies of New-England, which could not subsist without the fishery. In these northern parts of America, nature has provided that plentiful source of subsistence for mankind in the seas, which she has denied to the land.

The only object, therefore, in all these northern parts of America, as we have said, is the fishery, and unless we have that, we get nothing by the settling of the country, but a burden and charge, which they will not defray. There is not even the least prospect, that any of these northern settlements will ever be able to defend themselves ; and for that reason, they put the nation to such an expence for their defence and protection, and must expose it to perpetual insults, if not to new wars and troubles, on their account.

Many may perhaps think, that this may be done by settlements in the country adjacent to the fishery ; but we are well satisfied, that such settlements  
are

are more likely to prove a means of losing the fishery. St. John's, in Newfoundland, is the oldest settlement in all North-America, but is not yet able to defend itself against two or three ships; and all the rest of these paltry fishing settlements, north of New-England, are, and are ever likely to be, in the same defenceless condition. We shall never raise a force in these, or any other countries, sufficient to defend them, where the people cannot subsist by their agriculture, or rather have no soil or climate fit to cultivate. Yet, notwithstanding it is so difficult to raise a force sufficient to defend and secure these countries, there are more ports and harbours in them to be defended, than are perhaps in all Europe, exclusive of Great-Britain and Ireland. The whole coast, both of Newfoundland and Nova-Scotia, is one continued harbour, and exposed to every fishing vessel; while there is but here and there a spot fit for settlers to inhabit, and those at such distances from one another, that they can neither support, nor be supported by, each other. It is for these reasons, that such settlements can never be in a posture of defence, although they are exposed to every invader, who may hold the country, and command the fishery, by that means, which they could not otherwise do. Britain must secure both these and all her other dominions, by her fleets, which these settlements will rather weaken, by interfering with the British fishery; and must thereby deprive the whole nation of that security which they are intended to

give, if they do not again involve it in another war.

Thus the only advantage the nation can expect from the reduction of Canada and Cape Breton, is a security for the fishery ; and if that were rightly improved, it might, no doubt, be rendered a very great national benefit ; but by settling those countries, it is to be feared, we shall deprive the nation of all the advantages which might otherwise be reaped from them.

If the nation, in the prosecution of the war, exerted itself at home, the colonies did the same abroad, and bore even a greater share of the burden, in proportion to their abilities, than Great-Britain herself : and altho' this was no more than their duty to do, yet it was not certainly all done for themselves. Nova Scotia gives Britain a command of the fishery, and the advantages reaped from it ; wheress, it can only interfere with the colonies, and may deprive them of that which in New-England is the chief, if not the only, means of their support. How then does it appear, " whatever may be the value of the acquisitions in America, the immediate benefit of them is to the colonies ?" or that " they profited so much by the war ?" All our acquisitions are not worth one groat to them. The sole acquisition is the fur trade, which is still enjoyed by Canada ; and the colonies only have their former share, which is no object either to them or to Great-Britain\*.

The

\* By the custom-house account of the importation of furs, since the reduction of Canada, the whole fur trade of North-



The only object for the immediate benefit of the colonies, or for the interest of Great-Britain in them, are fruitful lands to cultivate, that will produce staple commodities ; of which they have not got one foot since the peace, though this was the other great and principal object of the war ; being excluded from the Ohio and Mississippi, by the proclamation issued for that purpose. Thus if they were at such expences, or gained any advantages in the war, they have been deprived of them since the peace. But if they were even possessed of them, they would not so soon raise sterling cash, to pay taxes. The making of new settlements is a matter of expence, and not of immediate benefit or profit ; and the colonies should rather be relieved from taxes, and supported with credit, to enable them to be at that expence, than burdened with such impositions to maintain Canada and Florida. They have formerly been in debt to Britain, by the settling of new plantations, which paid their debts ; but now they are in debt, for want of such fresh lands, and have no way to pay even their just debts, or to purchase absolute necessities : if we would enable them to do either of these, proper regulations should be thought of for this purpose ; by which alone either Great-Britain or the colonies, can indemnify themselves for their expences in the war, or recruit their circumstances after it. But instead of these, nothing seems to be

America, south of Hudson's Bay, cannot be estimated, on an average, at above forty thousand pounds per annum.

thought

thought of but trade, which at the best is a very improper business for colonies, who should only trade with their mother country ; and for want of commodities to trade in, which they can only have from their agriculture, the North-American colonies are very considerable losers by their trade, as we have shewn above. If they would gain any thing by their trade, they should supply themselves with their own necessaries from the produce of their lands, and should make their imports, which they now consume, articles of commerce : this is the first regulation wanted in the colonies, and might very easily be complied with. By that they might make, with their gains, and the savings of what they now expend, at least half a million a year ; and Great-Britain might save nigh as much in Canada and Florida, which, with the return of so much from the colonies, are articles amounting to a million a-year, and highly worthy of consideration.

Next to these, the regulations most wanted in the colonies are such as concern the improvements of their plantations in staple commodities for Britain, which are equally interesting to them and to their mother-country. If we would expect any thing from them, we should first put them in a way of making it. This is to be done by two ways, as we have said, either by extending their settlements to new and fresh lands, and more favourable climates, or by improving their old plantations ; the first of which depends upon Great-Britain, and the last is more particularly the business of the colonies ; although there is little hopes of seeing it done without the

encouragement and assistance of their mother-country. A little laid out upon such an occasion, would be the best harvest they ever reaped. It is in this manner that the colonies should be taxed, both for their own benefit and the interest of the whole nation. Such taxes may be paid in the commodities proposed, when they cannot possibly pay others, till they are enabled by the produce of their lands. This would likewise enable them to pay their debts, and to purchase their necessaries from Britain; whereas, all other taxes deprive them of the means of both.

For this purpose, some encouragement has been given to the growing of hemp and flax, and the getting of timber; but these are never likely to be a lasting staple of any of our colonies, and are at the best but very insignificant resources for supporting so many countries, and maintaining such a number of people. Since these therefore are so insufficient to answer the purpose, some other methods should be thought of, to promote such a signal interest of the nation, of which any one or two that can be proposed would not be sufficient.

Thus the repeal of the taxes imposed upon the colonies is so far from being a sacrifice of the highest permanent interests, and of the whole majesty, power, and reputation of government, as many seem to think, that it appears to be the only way to secure them\*.

By

\* The dignity and power of government was secured by the wise and just law enacted, “to bind the colonies subjects of



By taxes, you first oblige the people to supply themselves, independent of Great-Britain, and then to carry on a trade with other nations, in order to raise money, both of which are equally opposite to the “ highest permanent interests and government of Great Britain.” The daily and great increase of the people in North-America must render their income and abilities either to purchase necessities or to pay taxes, still less than at present, unless they have both manufactures and a trade in them. Even if they were to make all the improvements in staple commodities that could well be proposed or thought of, they would never pay taxes. Before they can make these, the people will be twice as numerous as they are, and their income, if it were ten times as great as at present, would hardly be sufficient to purchase their necessities from Britain.

Thus it signifies nothing, whether Great-Britain has a right to tax her colonies, or not, since it would be the greatest loss and detriment to the nation ever to exercise that right. The nation gets both their money, if they have any, and their effects, by trade ; and can expect none by a revenue. Upon these accounts, it is absolutely necessary to repeal totally the taxes imposed upon them, as it was equally contrary to the very nature of things, and the interest of Great Bri-

Great-Britain, in all cases whatsoever,” as they ought to be ; but that cannot extend to impossible cases, such as the taking of money from them, when it is impossible they should have any.

tain, that they should ever be able to pay them, till they enjoy all the profits of their own labour, and of a trade in the produce of it, which is to make them independent.

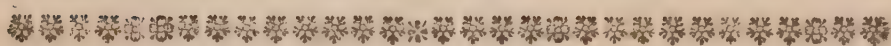
Many indeed seem apprehensive, that the total repeal of the late acts may make the colonies more inclinable to assert an independence. The inhabitants of the colonies, like all other Englishmen, have ever had a firm attachment to their mother country, and her government, on account of the invaluable blessings they enjoy from her happy constitution and form of government : this has hitherto secured to them those liberties and privileges, which they derive from her, and are as tenacious of as all other Englishmen ; this is the great band of union between the colonies and their mother country, which we should dissolve, by depriving them of the liberties and privileges of their fellow-subjects, which they have hitherto enjoyed, and think they are entitled to by their birth-right, in common with all other subjects of the realm. They know very well, if they were to throw off the mild and auspicious government of Great-Britain, they must be subject to tyrants of their own, and exposed to invasions from their enemies. Their liberties, safety and security, are a certain pledge for their allegiance and dependence, which is above all others. This is a band of union between them and their mother-country, founded on the nature and reason of things, and the rights of mankind, which are as lasting as the world itself, if not counter-acted.

Besides

Besides this, there is as great a tie of union from their interests, which are mutual, and naturally connected together. The colonies which produce staple commodities for Britain could not find such another market for them; and even those which produce nothing of that kind, have the liberty of vending their products in other parts of the world, and the advantage of a trade with Great-Britain at the same time. To cement their union, therefore, and to make it lasting, nothing is wanting but totally to repeal the late acts, and secure their property by such a trade, both in public and private transactions, under the present happy constitution.



BRITISH ISLANDS  
IN THE  
AMERICAN WEST-INDIES.



J A M A I C A.

**T**HIS island, one of the Great Antilles, was discovered by Columbus, in his second voyage to America; but it does not appear that he made any settlement there, upon its first discovery: however, it is pretty certain, that he entertained so favourable an opinion of Jamaica, that he marked it out as an estate for himself. On his fourth expedition to America, a violent storm obliged him to run into this island a second time, where he was relieved from the greatest dangers and distresses. His ships being rendered, by the storm, so absolutely unfit for service as to admit of no repair, Columbus prevailed upon some of the sailors to pass over in a canoe to Hispaniola, to represent his calamitous situation to the governor, and to request vessels to carry his people.

ple. Eight months elapsing without the least intelligence from his messengers, or assistance from the governor, the natives were incensed at the delay of the Spaniards, (the subsisting them being a heavy burthen upon their poverty) and brought in provisions very sparingly; whereupon the seamen mutinied in great numbers. This mutiny considerably weakened the admiral's authority and strength, whilst the natives were further exasperated at the disorders committed by the mutineers; but Columbus found means to recover his authority among the natives. Foreseeing a visible eclipse of the moon, he summoned the Indian chiefs, and, by means of an interpreter, acquainted them, "That the God whom he served, provoked at their refusing to support his servants, intended a severe judgment upon them, of which they should shortly see a manifest sign in the heavens; for that the moon, on such a particular night, would appear bloody, an emblem of their speedy destruction." His prediction, though ridiculed at first, when accomplished, terrified the barbarians exceedingly. They fell at his feet, and besought him, in the most moving manner, to avert the judgments which threatened them, and brought him plenty of provisions, which he accepted, charging them to atone for their past faults by their future generosity. This stratagem afforded him a temporary relief; but he saw no prospect of getting out of the island, and the mutiny of his men was in danger of growing general, when a  
ship

ship appeared in the offing, sent by Obando, the governor of Hispaniola, who had resolved not only to abandon, but to insult that great man in his misfortunes. The captain of the vessel was a mortal enemy to Columbus, and the design of this voyage was only to be a witness of his distress; for he forbade his crew all manner of communication with the admiral or his men, and after delivering him a complimentary letter, embarked, without even flattering him with the least hope of relief.

Thus abandoned, his firmness and presence of mind did not forsake him; without betraying the least sign of disappointment or grief, he told his men, in a cheerful manner, that he was promised an immediate supply; that he had refused to depart in this ship, because she was too small to carry them all; and that he was determined not to quit the island, until every one of his crew might enjoy the same conveniency. His easy and composed air, and the care he shewed for his people, far beyond his own preservation, reconciled their minds, and made them, in general, await their fate with patience. But sensible that his stay might be very tedious in the island, and that his affairs would grow worse every day, he came to a resolution of taking vigorous measures with the refractory: he accordingly sent his brother with a proper force, well armed, to treat with them, and, if necessary, to compel them to obedience. The captain of the mutineers, grown insolent with a long course of licentiousness, not only rejected the admiral's terms, but offered violence to  
his



his brother ; who attacked the rebels with so much resolution, that ten, with their chief, were slain in a moment ; the rest fled, and were soon after obliged to submit.

The admiral might have spent his whole life in this miserable exile, if a private person, actuated by esteem for his merit, and compassion for his misfortunes, had not fitted out a ship for his relief, which brought him safe to the island of Hispaniola, where he refreshed himself and his men for some days, and then sailed for Spain ; but did not live long after his arrival.

Some authors are of opinion, that Columbus, during his residence upon Jamaica, founded the town of Metilla ; no improbable circumstance, when we reflect, that the natives were fully reconciled to the Spaniards before they quitted the island. His son and family built St. Jago de la Vega, and several other towns, which were abandoned, on account of the advantageous situation of St. Jago, which in a short time contained one thousand seven hundred houses, two churches, two chapels, and an abbey. The court of Spain, notwithstanding its ingratitude to Columbus, having granted both the government and property of Jamaica to his family, his son was the first European governor, with the title of duke de la Vega. But the descendants of the great Columbus degenerated from his virtues ; and having no idea of any West-Indian acquisition that did not produce gold and silver, neglected improving Jamaica, studying only to raise

raise their rents, and oppress the planters. Columbus had preferred this island on account of its situation and populousness ; but his descendants, or their substitutes, murdered sixty thousand of the natives, under the most exquisite tortures.

We are but little acquainted with the particulars of the Spanish commerce while they possessed Jamaica. In 1596, Sir Anthony Shirley, who commanded an English squadron, took and plundered the town of St. Jago. In 1635, colonel Jackson, in his passage from the Leeward Islands, landed five hundred men, and, after driving two thousand of the enemy from their works at Passage Fort, made himself master of the town of St. Jago, with the loss of forty men, and received a considerable sum by way of ransom for the town.

The island came into our possession during the usurpation of Cromwell, by means of a formidable armament fitted out with a view to reduce the island of Hispaniola, under the command of colonel Venables and admiral Penn, who sailed from England with seven thousand land forces, mostly veteran troops. The army was greatly reinforced by the inhabitants of Barbadoes and the other Leeward Islands, and, on the 13th of April, the fleet arrived off Hispaniola. The place of their landing was ill chosen ; the army had near forty miles to march before it could act, and the soldiers disheartened, fainting and dying with the excessive heat of the climate, and the want of provisions, and discouraged yet more by the  
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cowardice and discontent of their officers, yielded an easy victory to a handful of Spaniards, and re-imbarked ignominiously, with great loss.

The principal commanders, a little reconciled by this misfortune, and afraid to return back to England without striking some decisive stroke, resolved to attempt Jamaica, before the inhabitants could receive news of their repulse from Hispaniola, knowing the island was in no good posture of defence. They accordingly exerted themselves vigorously, to avoid the mistakes which had proved so fatal in the former expedition; the officers who had shewn an ill example by their cowardice were severely punished, and orders were given to shoot any soldier who should turn his back to the enemy.

On the 2d of May the troops were landed on Jamaica, and laid siege to St. Jago, the capital. The inhabitants being in no condition to oppose so strong a force, would have surrendered immediately, but for the strange delays of our generals and their commissioners. The town however, at last, capitulated; but not until the inhabitants had secreted their most valuable effects in the mountains. The whole island shared the fate of its capital; for though Spanish parties sometimes attempted to surprize the English from the woods, yet they never appeared in a body, and at last found means to convey themselves and their effects to Cuba.

The viceroy of Mexico, understanding that the mulattoes and negroes had been left in the woods,



woods, sent orders to the governor of Cuba to supply the exiles with whatever was necessary for retaking the island, and promised to support them with a proper land force. They accordingly returned thither; but lived dispersed in the woods in so miserable a manner, that the five hundred regulars, who were sent to their assistance, refused to associate with them, and fortified themselves at St. Chereras, in the northern part of the island, where they soon received considerable reinforcements. In the mean while, the English began planting the south and south east parts of the island, of which colonel D'Oyley was left governor, with three thousand men; and Penn and Venables returned to England, leaving a large squadron for the protection of the island, under the command of vice-admiral Godson.

Cromwell resolving to trust no officer recommended by Venables, whom he suspected of favouring the royal cause, sent major Sedgwick, with a reinforcement of one thousand men, to supersede D'Oyley. In the mean while, the Spaniards, at St. Chereras, having been reinforced with thirty companies, besides artillery and provisions, from Cuba and the continent, had thrown up several formidable works at Rio Nuevo, in the precinct of St. Mary's. D'Oyley attacked them, drove them from their works in a few days, with great loss, and demolished their intrenchments. They next attempted to make a stand at Point Pedro, from which they were likewise driven, and were obliged,  
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at last, to return to Cuba, leaving the English in quiet possession of Jamaica.

The Spanish negroes and mulattoes, however, still kept in the woods and mountains, where they subsisted by game and plunder. Part, perceiving themselves abandoned by the Spanish regulars, murdered their governor, chose one of their own number, sent a deputation to D'Oyley, and delivered up their arms : but another party of them still remained, headed by some of the old Spanish inhabitants. The negroes who submitted were very useful in clearing the island of the remains of the Spaniards, who were entirely rooted out, and not above twenty or thirty of their negroes left upon the island in a year's time ; but they knew the inland parts of it so well, that they could not be dislodged, and afterwards proved very dangerous enemies. Major Sedgwick having died a few days after his arrival, D'Oyley still continued governor, and acted with equal wisdom and resolution. But while the colony was improving beyond all example, a spirit of mutiny infected the army. The ringleaders, colonel Raymond and lieutenant-colonel Tyson, were probably encouraged, by their knowing how disagreeable D'Oyley was to Cromwell ; but he had the courage to bring them both to a court-martial, where they were sentenced to be shot, which was accordingly executed. By this time, Cromwell had ordered colonel Brayne, in Scotland, to embark with a thousand men, from Port Patrick, for Jamaica, to sub-

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perſede D'Oyley ; but that gentleman likewise died ſoon after his arrival : and it is very remarkable, that D'Oyley remained governor at the time of the Reſtoration.

Soon after the Reſtoration, colonel D'Oyley was ſucceeded by lord Windſor as governor of Jamaica, who, in 1663, was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas Modiford, who, having a great eſtate at Barbadoes, had retired to Jamaica to aggrandize himſelf, as ſeveral other wealthy planters had alſo done. The Engliſh inhabitants at Jamaica had, by this time, increaſed in number to between ſeventeen and eighteen thouſand ; but its chief trade conſiſted in their depredations upon the Spaniards, which, in all probability, were winked at by the governor.

Modiford, who knew better than any man of his time the intereſt of the Engliſh Weſt-India iſlands, introduced into Jamaica the art of making ſugar, of planting cocoa groves, and erected ſalt-works ; ſo that the arts of induſtry began to prevail over the old habits of the planters, and the iſland wore a new face. However, many of the old planters were too much attached to their former cuſtoms to abandon them ; and hence ſprung up the buccaneers, whoſe proceedings make ſo great a figure in the hiſtory of the Weſt-Indies. They conſiſted of adventurers of all nations, who reſorted to Jamaica, on account of the vaſt conveniency of its ſituation for plundering the Spaniards, and, when aſſembled, bound themſelves down to certain regulations, that would have done honour to a more virtuous inſtitution.



A Portuguese pirate founded the fraternity ; but being drowned as he was conducting a prize to Jamaica, was succeeded by a Dutchman of Brazil, nicknamed Braziliano, who, when but a private man, being chosen ringleader of a mutiny, ran away with the ship, and intercepted a rich Spanish vessel, homeward-bound, the cargo of which, consisting chiefly of ready money, he and his companions squandered at Jamaica, in the most absurd and tasteless extravagance. When their money was spent, they again went to sea, and took another prize ; but being taken upon the coast of Campeachy, were condemned to be hanged : however, their sentence was mitigated to their serving in the galleys, from whence they escaped, and returned to Jamaica, where they continued to follow their former piratical practices. In this depredatory war, one Scott, a Welshman, who plundered Campeachy, and Mansfield, an Englishman, distinguished themselves ; and another Englishman, Davis, brought from the Sack of Nicaragua above fifty thousand dollars for his own share of the plunder. He afterwards formed an expedition against St. Augustine, and succeeded, though the castle was garrisoned by two hundred men. But the most distinguished of all was Henry Morgan, a Welshman, who, being of a roving disposition, went when young to Barbadoes, from whence he removed to Jamaica, commenced pirate, and served as Mansfield's lieutenant in the expedition against St. Catharine's, which they attacked and took,

with fifteen ships and five hundred men, leaving one Simon as governor on the island, with a garrison of one hundred men. The buccaneers were so elevated by this conquest, that they would have proceeded against Panama itself, had they not received intelligence that the Spaniards were prepared to receive them; upon which, they retired to the island of Tortuga, in the Gulph of Mexico, about fifteen miles from the continent.

In consequence of the complaints made by the court of Spain against the buccaneers, Modiford was sent for home in custody, and Sir Thomas Lynch, who succeeded him, received orders to check them. But they, not conceiving that any practices could be illegal that brought in money to themselves and the Jamaicans, had the confidence to propose to Lynch to make a settlement upon the isle of St. Catharine's; which demand he refused. Mansfield retired in discontent to Tortuga, where he died; and Simon was obliged to surrender his government, by capitulation, to the governor of Costa Rica. Morgan now became head of the buccaneers, and behaved with unparalleled boldness. His first expedition was against Puerto del Principe, which he took, and shared fifty thousand dollars among his crew; which being composed of different nations, the French here abandoned him, on account of the death of one of their countrymen.

It is difficult to reconcile the behaviour of the court of England at this time, towards that of

Spain, to the principles of good faith. It is true, the Spaniards laid claim to places, and exclusive rights of commerce in America, which the English had never allowed; but still both crowns had always kept up a good correspondence, and had mutually promised a redress of grievances. Morgan's next enterprize was against Puerto Velo, a rich city in the district of Panama, which he plundered of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, besides other rich merchandize; all which centered in Jamaica. After this successful expedition, he, in a little time, had under his command fifteen ships and nine hundred men, with which force he made an unsuccessful attempt upon Hispaniola; but afterwards attacked and took Macaraibo, upon the Terra-Firma, where the booty he made was equal to what he got at Puerto Velo, besides destroying three Spanish men of war off the harbour.

Morgan, with all the vices of a pirate, was no spendthrift; he more than once endangered his life by depriving his men of what they judged their just due. Notwithstanding this, the fame of his successes was such, that at his rendezvous next year at Tortuga, he found himself at the head of two thousand men, and thirty-seven sail of ships. He now projected the conquest of Panama itself. To facilitate this enterprize, he took possession of St. Catharine's island, while Brodely made himself master of Fort Chagre, where he remained with a garrison of five hundred men, to secure a



retreat. With the remainder, Morgan then marched against Panama, the inhabitants of which opposed him with more spirit than was expected. Nothing could equal the discouragements which he encountered in this expedition. Finding the river that led towards the city impassable by large ships, he was obliged to leave a detachment to take care of his fleet and artillery, and to embark part of his men on board canoes, while others marched by land, for six days, under most inconceivable miseries, from the heat of the climate and want of provisions. They had scarcely made a junction, before they were attacked by the governor of Panama, with four regiments of foot, and two squadrons of horse, whom they defeated, with the loss of six hundred men. The victors immediately pushed on to the city, mounted the walls, without the assistance of artillery or scaling ladders, and, after some dispute, became masters of Panama.

Morgan made use of his success with no great moderation; and stands accused of setting the town on fire, without consulting any of his companions, the better to conceal the true account of the plunder he had secured for himself. He remained four or five months in Panama, during which time he laid the adjacent country under contribution, and issued his orders with the utmost coolness, in which he was punctually obeyed by his men. When he left Panama, it is said, that the gold,  
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silver, and precious spoils of the city, loaded one hundred and seventy-five beasts of burthen; and his prisoners amounted to six hundred, whom he obliged to ransom themselves. In his retreat, he plundered the town of Cruz, and demolished the fortifications of Chagre. Upon the division of this immense booty, each share did not amount to above fifty pounds; which exasperated his men afresh against their commander, whom they accused of defrauding them. Morgan, apprehensive their discontents might end in a mutiny, sailed with four ships, whose crews he had gained over to his interest, to Jamaica; and is said to have carried with him four hundred thousand dollars, on his own account, leaving the rest of his companions at Chagre.

In 1670, the Spanish and English crowns signed a treaty, the articles of which were confined to America only. At the time this treaty was concluded, Charles II. was resolved to put a stop to the depredations of the buccaneers; and John lord Vaughan succeeded Sir Thomas Lynch in this government, who was sent home to answer for his conduct in encouraging them. There is reason to suppose that Morgan, when upon his expedition against Panama, got intelligence of what had passed between the courts of England and Spain; for he declared, he would give over buccaneering the moment he arrived at Jamaica.

Though Vaughan had strict orders to put a stop to the piracies against the Spaniards, yet he seems

to have brought over a pardon for past offences of this kind, which had been accepted by Morgan; for about this time he was knighted, on account of his valour, and was made one of the commissioners of the admiralty at Jamaica, where he had purchased a large estate, and was making very considerable improvements. Jamaica, at this time, laboured under the same misfortune as Barbadoes, by the institution of the Royal African company of England, whose ships, assisted by those of the crown, seized all Jamaica vessels which they found trading to any part of Guinea, and, under pretence of their charter, committed terrible depredations upon the Jamaica trade; and, as the importation of negroes is so capital a point with all the Sugar Islands, must have ruined them, had not the trade been laid open by parliament.

An incident which happened at this time was of great service to Jamaica, though judged prejudicial to our West-India trade in general. England ceded to Holland Surinam, a very flourishing settlement, in consideration of certain cessions made by the Dutch in North-America; a scheme dictated by the duke of York, for the benefit of his North-American friends. The Surinam English were settled at Jamaica, in St. Elizabeth's precinct, to the number of fifteen hundred planters, besides their families, where lands were assigned them to cultivate.

Lord Vaughan was succeeded, in 1678, by Charles, earl of Carlisle, during whose administration,



tion, the people of Jamaica entertained the same apprehensions that then filled all England, as if the French, Irish, and English papists had entered into a conspiracy to exterminate the protestants. Their alarms were not a little increased by the neighbourhood of Mons. d'Estrees, with a strong squadron; and Lord Carlisle's time, during his government, was almost wholly spent in making preparations to receive the enemy, or in using endeavours to remove the apprehensions of the people. The climate disagreeing with his constitution, he returned to England in 1680, leaving Sir Henry Morgan deputy-governor; who, to make amends for his former conduct, was extremely vigilant against pirates, and surprized, in Cow bay, a pirate sloop, commanded by one Everson, a Dutchman, but manned by English. Everson was killed in the engagement; but the crew, as no proof of their depredations on the Spaniards could be obtained in Jamaica, were sent to Carthagena, to be tried and punished by the Spanish government.

In 1682, Sir Thomas Lynch, a warm loyalist, was again appointed governor of Jamaica; and, to wipe off the suspicion he had formerly incurred of encouraging pirates, exerted himself the more remarkably in suppressing them. Sir Henry Morgan, notwithstanding his great services, was sent prisoner to England. He pleaded the commission of the governor and council of Jamaica, and the public thanks they had given him, in defence of his actions; but this did not prevent his suffering a

long ministerial prosecution, without being brought to a trial, to the ruin of his health and private fortune. The assembly, about this time, gave a substantial proof of their loyalty, by continuing his majesty's revenue in the island for twenty-one years.

Under Sir Thomas Lynch, several excellent laws were passed for the good of the island. Notwithstanding all his care, the French, Dutch, and some English pirates still continued to infest those seas; many of them having French commissions, that crown being then at war with Spain. The king's ships, the *Ruby* and *Guernsey*, were perpetually cruising to windward against them; and the governor fitted out a galley, which was of great service in scouring the coast. The English commanders, however, were greatly puzzled how to behave towards such pirates as carried French commissions, and who never offered any violence to the subjects of England. The king of France, however, soon found that no benefit accrued to himself, or his subjects, by his granting commissions to pirates, who, when opportunity offered, plundered all nations equally; and therefore dispatched orders to his governors in America to recall all French commissions that had been granted to those free-booters, who were henceforward to be deemed common pirates.

Colonel Hender Moleworth succeeded Sir Thomas Lynch, and proclaimed king James the Second's accession in the island, with great solemnity,

ty, and transmitted home a most loyal congratulatory address. A post-office was soon after erected in Jamaica; and, in 1687, the duke of Albermarle, son of him who had so great a share in the restoration of Charles II. having impaired his finances, was sent governor to this island, where he might retrieve his fortune, as to a kind of honourable banishment, for his zeal against popery. On Sunday, the 19th of February, this year, a most dreadful earthquake was felt all over the island, which damaged a vast number of houses, and ruined many sugar-works. The sad consequences of these earthquakes had been frequently felt by the English since they had been in possession of the island, having neglected the precautions of the Spaniards, who built their houses very low, with light roofs, and piles driven deep into the ground. The duke did not long enjoy his new government; the climate, and hard drinking, hastened his death. Little worth notice occurred during his government. A proclamation indeed was published, for the more effectually suppressing pirates in America; but this was little else than mere matter of form, they being quite rooted out before this time. Upon the duke's death, colonel Hender Moleworth was, by the council and assembly, again appointed governor. About this time the Revolution happened, and a convention was entered into between Spain and England for supplying the Spanish West-Indies with negroes; whereupon Don St. Jago del Castillo, afterwards knighted by king William, was appointed Spanish commissary at Jamaica.

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In 1690, the earl of Inchiquin was appointed governor. On the 29th of June following, a dangerous conspiracy broke out among the negroes. In 1691, the French attempting a settlement upon Hispaniola, lord Inchiquin had orders to dislodge them, if possible. Accordingly, he dispatched the Swan and Guernsey men of war, the Quaker ketch, and a large transport, with nine hundred men, to Hispaniola. This armament raised great expectations ; but only took a few small vessels at sea, and destroyed a few inconsiderable works by land.

On the 27th of June, 1692, Jamaica was visited with another most dreadful earthquake. Port Royal, the finest and most populous town in the West-Indies, was totally destroyed. The wharfs sunk down at once, and water to the depth of several fathoms filled the place where the street had stood : the earth, in opening, swallowed up people, and threw out their bodies in other parts of the town, and with such rapidity, that some of them lived many years after. Northward of the town, a thousand acres were sunk, mountains were split ; and no fewer than two thousand souls perished in the town. The ships in the harbour shared this disaster ; several were lost, and the motion of the sea carried the Swan frigate over the tops of houses, without upsetting. The rest of the island suffered in proportion. In short, its horrors were so great as to exceed all description.

But the earthquake itself was far less ruinous to the island than its consequences. At least three  
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thousand white inhabitants died of pestilential diseases, caused by the putrid effluvia that issued from the apertures. The loss which the planters and merchants sustained was immense ; but the assembly humanely exempted the sufferers from paying large sums as duty upon wine that had been destroyed. Before the Jamaicans had time to recover themselves, the French invaded the north side of the island with three hundred men ; but the Guernsey man of war, and some other sloops, burnt their ships, and destroyed or made prisoners all who had landed, excepting eighteen, who made their escape in a sloop. An annual fast was instituted in commemoration of this dreadful judgment.

Lord Inchiquin dying in Jamaica, in 1692, was succeeded by colonel William Beeston, who on this occasion was knighted ; and, upon his arrival, remedied a number of abuses that prevailed during the former government\*. In 1694, Sir William Beeston receiving information, that three fifty-gun ships had arrived at Petit-Guaves, from France, put the island into a proper state of defence. His intelligence proved true : On the 17th of June, the three French men of war, in company with about seventeen privateer-sloops and transports, commanded by Mons. du Cassé, the French governor of Hispaniola, appeared off the island, and landing their troops at Cow Bay, about seven

\* In 1693, agents were first appointed for settling the colony's affairs in England, with a salary of four hundred and fifty pounds per annum.

leagues east of Port Royal, plundered the plantations, and after committing a great many barbarities retired, upon the approach of some English forces. They next landed fifteen hundred men in Carlisle Bay, in Vere parish, to the westward of Port Royal, and attacked a breastwork defended by two hundred English, whom they compelled to retreat, after a very smart engagement. In the meantime five companies of foot, and some horse, advancing against the enemy, made them retreat precipitately, with considerable loss. The two following days were spent in continued skirmishes, in which the French lost a great many men, and some of their best officers. This discouraged them from proceeding in the enterprize : under the cover of night they reembarked their men, and set the prisoners ashore, having lost in this expedition above seven hundred men.

The next year a squadron was sent to Jamaica, under the command of captain Wilmot, with twelve hundred land forces on board, to make an attempt upon the French settlements in Hispaniola, in concert with the Spanish governor of St. Domingo. Colonel Lillingston, who commanded the land-forces, landed his men within three leagues of Cape Francois, the principal French settlement in Hispaniola, on the 18th of June, amidst a brisk fire from the enemy, while Wilmot bore up within cannon-shot of the fort. Wilmot, in searching for a place to land, narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade ; however, next night he returned with an  
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additional force, which so daunted the French, that they immediately blew up their fort, fired the town, and retreated in the night with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them forty pieces of cannon, unspiked, which fell into the hands of the English, who next morning plundered the town.

Port au Paix, the strongest French settlement in Hispaniola, was next attacked. Wilmot waited some days in expectation of the arrival of the land-forces ; but being disappointed, landed a party of seamen about five miles east of Port au Paix, and destroyed the plantations to the walls of the fort, which was built in the form of a quadrangle, and landing his heavy artillery, in a few days, opened some batteries to the west of the fort, which the seamen served so furiously, that the French soon abandoned the place ; but were intercepted in their retreat, and almost all their officers slain, or taken prisoners. Such in general is the account of this expedition, which might have been still more beneficial, had Wilmot followed his instructions literally, which were to act against Petit Guaves, and to destroy in his return the French fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. Wilmot died on his passage to England, where the fleet arrived in a miserable condition.

In 1696, Mons. de Pointis, with a powerful French squadron, made a feint of attacking this island ; but though he had on board two thousand buccaneers, the Jamaicans made so good a shew, that he sheered off without making any attempt  
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against it. By this time, admiral Nevil, in conjunction with a Dutch squadron, had sailed in quest of him; but De Pointis receiving intelligence of his being in those seas, bore away for the Bahama islands; but at last fell in with the English squadron; from which he escaped, tho' one of his richest ships, valued at two hundred thousand pounds, was taken, and carried into Jamaica. Admiral Nevil, in concert with the Dutch admiral, Meese, attacked and burnt Petit Guaves; but died of a broken heart on his passage to Virginia, having been refused admittance into the harbour of the Havannah. De Pointis more fortunate, escaped a second time from an English squadron, which he found lying at anchor in the Bay of St. John's, in Newfoundland; and a third time from a squadron commanded by captain Harlow, which he outailed.

One Paterfon, a Scotchman, learning from Dampier, and other West-Indian adventurers in London, that the isthmus of Darien was inhabited by an independent people, who would willingly permit any European nation to settle in their country, on condition of assisting them against the Spaniards, formed a project for peopling this spot with his countrymen; and for raising in Holland, Hamburgh, &c. subscriptions towards carrying it into execution. Upon this project was grafted another, for a trade between Scotland and Africa, notwithstanding the charter of the Royal African company. The scheme met with prodigious encouragement; and an act was passed in Scotland  
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for erecting a company, called, the company of Scotland trading to Africa and the West-Indies, with great immunities, which occasioned an universal ferment in England; petitions and remonstrances were presented to the king by the East-India company, France, Spain, and Holland, who all complained of the Scotch project, as utterly inconsistent with their commercial rights: even both houses of parliament remonstrated, that the late Scotch act, if carried into execution, must absolutely destroy the most valuable branches of the English commerce.

The Scotch, however, continued raising subscriptions, with uncommon success, particularly in Hamburgh, where an hundred thousand pounds were subscribed; upon which his majesty ordered the English resident at Hamburgh, to threaten the senate with his highest displeasure, if they entered into any treaty with the Scotch. Thus they were disappointed in their great expectations at Hamburgh, as well as in England. Repeated addresses from the company, and even from the parliament of Scotland, were presented to the king, without their receiving any satisfactory answers; yet their disappointment was far from damping their zeal: four hundred thousand pounds were subscribed, noble offices and warehouses were erected, and four sixty-gun ships, besides transports and tenders, were built for the service of the colony.

At length, three of their ships, and two tenders, with two hundred men on board, sailed from the Frith,



Frith, in 1698, and arrived safe in the Bay of Darien, and immediately took possession of St. Catharine's island, which they fortified, its port being secure and capacious enough for ships of the greatest burthen. Orders were now sent to the several governors of the American provinces and West-India islands, strictly prohibiting them to give the Scotch any supply. In the mean while, the Spanish governor of Santa Maria attacked the new settlement; but was defeated, with the loss of an hundred men, and taken prisoner. Great part of their provisions having been consumed during their voyage, they were soon threatened with famine, being unable to comply with the exorbitant demands of those who would have carried on a clandestine trade with them; and thus were forced to abandon the spot which had seemed to promise such immense riches. Their miseries after quitting Darien were inexpressible: those who arrived at Jamaica were considered as little better than pirates, and received no other relief than what they paid for with their few remaining goods. Scarcely had the first colony abandoned Darien, before a fresh recruit arrived; but their principal victualing transport having been burnt by accident, they too were obliged to quit the colony. A third embarkation, better provided than either of the former, landed soon after, but miscarried, through the divisions of those who had the management of it; so that, unable to resist the Spaniards, they also abandoned the settlement, by capitulation.

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In 1699 admiral Benbow arrived at Jamaica, with a considerable squadron; but during his passage, a pestilential distemper carried off an incredible number of seamen, which disabled this active commander from undertaking any expedition against the enemy this year. Two English men of war were cast away near Hispaniola; and Fort Charles, in Port Royal, was blown up by accident. In the course of the following year, Sir William Beeston died, and was succeeded, in April 1701, by major-general Selwyn, who died soon after his arrival. Upon his death, Peter Beckford, Esq; was appointed lieutenant-governor by the council. A war now breaking out between England and France, on account of the duke of Anjou's succession to the Spanish crown, admiral Benbow exerted his utmost endeavours to intercept the French fleet under Mons. du Casse, whom he indeed defeated; but through the cowardice and disobedience of four of his captains, after a running fight that lasted two or three days, was obliged to desist, before he had effected the total destruction of the French squadron. In this engagement, the admiral had his leg broke by a chain shot, of which wound he died soon after. The two captains, Kirby and Wade, were shot for cowardice; Hudson died before his trial; and Constable was cashiered from her majesty's service, for breach of orders, and neglect of duty. Upon the admiral's decease, rear-admiral Whetstone took upon him the command of the squadron at Jamaica, where the

spirit of privateering was now very strong. A small squadron from thence plundered and burnt a town called Toulon, about twelve miles from Carthagea. The fleet then sailed up the river Darien, and being joined by the Indians, attacked the fort of Santa Maria, got possession of the mines, and, in three weeks time, gained fourscore pounds weight of gold dust, besides discovering some plate that had been buried by the inhabitants ; and afterwards burnt the town, and carried off the negroes. Some vessels went farther up the river, in search of another mine, but without success ; and two sloops landed near Trinidad, which they plundered and burnt.

Lord Peterborough, who upon the death of Mr. Selwyn had been appointed governor, never went to the island ; but, in 1703, colonel Handasyde was appointed lieutenant-governor by the crown, soon after whose arrival, the town of Port Royal was burnt to the ground : however, the two royal forts, and magazines, were not damaged ; nor any of the ships in the harbour burnt, except one brigantine and a sloop. The assembly voted, that Port Royal should not be rebuilt ; and that the inhabitants should remove to Kingston. Port Royal continued a long time a mere heap of rubbish ; but a small handsome town has been since built on the same spot.

In 1704, vice-admiral Graydon arrived with a squadron. On his passage, he fell in with Du Cassé's fleet, which had just escaped from admiral Benbow,



bow, and was very foul and leaky. Captain Cleland, of the *Montague*, attacked the sternmost ship; but was instantly called off by Graydon, who pretended the urgency of his orders, in excuse for this shameful conduct. Having collected what force he could at Jamaica, and the other West-Indian islands, he sailed for Placentia, in Newfoundland, and held a council of war, where it was determined, that the French were too well prepared to justify an attack, and accordingly returned to England. On his arrival, he was dismissed the service, for his misbehaviour.

In the mean while, admiral Whetstone destroyed a great many French and Spanish ships, in their harbours, and brought off an hundred and twenty prisoners, with a very considerable booty. Among the ships he destroyed, were four French privateers, that were intended to plunder the island. The privateers were equally successful. Captain Kerr, who commanded the squadron during Whetstone's return to England, behaved with the utmost tyranny, and was suspected of holding a correspondence with the French. The Jamaicans, however, prosecuted him in England with such effect, that he lost his commission, and the instruments of his tyranny were punished. At this time, the Jamaicans were dissatisfied with the conduct of their governor, who had suffered one Rigby to monopolize several of the most lucrative employments in the island. The assembly passed a bill against such engrossments, which, after some alterations, was at

last allowed in England. The differences between the governor and assembly still continuing, lord Archibald Hamilton was sent over as governor, who arriving in July, 1711, deferred the meeting of the assembly, by the advice of Rigby, Broderick, the attorney-general, and one Stuart, a physician, all violent Tories. Hostilities still continued between France and England, in the West Indies ; and the French admiral Cossart, after making a descent on Montserrat, threatened Jamaica. The universal consternation for some time suspended party heats ; and an embargo was laid on the shipping, which proved fatal to many of them, through a terrible hurricane, that destroyed the canes all over the island, and did incredible damage, though it lasted but six hours.

The great numbers of Scotch and Irish who attended lord Archibald to Jamaica, disgusted the inhabitants ; as several arbitrary acts of government were committed to supply these hungry adventurers, particularly, lands were seized, under pretence of being escheated to the crown. These practices were at last so flagrant, that the assembly passed three acts ; the first, for preventing any person from holding two offices or posts in the island ; the second, for regulating exorbitant fees ; and the third, for quieting men's possessions, and preventing vexatious suits at law. The island, at this time, was in a most deplorable situation. Its governors, bred up either in the army or navy, resided in chancery, where their will was their law ; the chief justice

justice had a few years before been a cabin-boy, but marrying a planter's widow, had become a judge ; and all the other judges and justices in the island were of the same stamp.

After the peace of Utrecht, the ships of war which had been stationed here being recalled, the merchants and principal inhabitants applied to the governor to grant letters of marque, for the security of the island against free-booters. Some of these commissions being abused, a great clamour was raised against lord Archibald ; which increased, when sloops were fitted out from Jamaica for fishing upon the wrecks of some rich Spanish ships, lost near the Bahama islands, of which the governor of Cuba complained, as an infraction of the treaties between the two crowns. At the accession of George I. the Jamaicans raised a purse of a thousand pounds, for the encouragement of their agents in England, employed to obtain redress of their grievances ; and lord Archibald was recalled, and sent prisoner to England, upon a charge of encouraging piracy, of which he was afterwards acquitted, and Peter Haywood, Esq; appointed in his room, who was almost immediately succeeded by Sir Nicholas Lawes, an eminent planter. Sir Nicholas repaired the fortifications of Port Royal ; and observing, that the remains of the buccaneers and pirates, who did infinite prejudice to the English trade, always found a ready asylum in the Spanish settlements by embracing the Roman catholic religion, requested commodore



Vernon, to demand satisfaction of the governor of Trinidad for the depredations of the Spaniards; to demand Nicholas Brown and Christopher Winter, as traitors and pirates; and to threaten reprisals, in case of a refusal. But his menaces were in vain; and Sir Nicholas, not chusing to proceed to the execution of his threats, published a proclamation for apprehending Brown and Winter, with five hundred pounds reward for each. These rough proceedings against the Spaniards were far from being agreeable to the people in general, on account of their lucrative trade with the Spanish West-Indies, and produced a breach between the assembly and the governor, who threatened, that if they did not comply, the government would take advantage of the precariousness of their tenures, and secure his majesty's interest, without their assistance. But all political differences were suspended for a time by a most terrible hurricane, which happened on the 30th of August, 1722, and did incredible damage. In the beginning of May this year, the Launceston took a Spanish guarda costa, with fifty-eight men, which had taken a Jamaica snow, six leagues off Hispaniola. As such captures were infractions of the treaties subsisting between the two kingdoms, the governor, council, and captains of his majesty's ships, held a council of war for trying them; and forty-three being convicted of piracy and robbery, were executed. This severity was far from closing the breach between the governor and the assembly, so that he desired to be recalled;

recalled ; but not before the militia had been formed into a regiment of horse, and eight regiments of infantry ; a regulation the more necessary, as the runaway negroes were grown formidable, and made excursions as far as Spanish Town.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the Jamaicans employed in their defence the Mosquitos, an Indian nation on the continent, inhabiting a sandy bay between Truxillo and Honduras, where they were driven by the Spaniards, from Honduras. During the government of the duke of Albermarle, these Indians put themselves under the protection of England. Ever since, upon the death of their king, the next heir repairs to Jamaica, where he proves his title to the crown, and receives his commission from the governor. They are a quiet, inoffensive people, except to the Spaniards, who drove them from their native country, for whom they have an invincible aversion ; and are so well defended by mountains and morasses, that the Spaniards have never been able to conquer them. About the year 1690, they obtained a considerable victory over the Spanish Indians, and were since invited to reside in Jamaica ; but their love of independency made them refuse this offer. No American Indians are more expert hunters and fishers ; and they are so useful at sea, that most Jamaica traders engage some of them in their service. Their king, or some of their chiefs, always compliment a new governor on his arrival, and are treated with great civility. Their manners and customs greatly

resemble those of the other Indian nations. Two hundred of these Indians were formed into two companies, under their own officers, with regular pay ; who, during their stay upon the island, which was but a few months, did very considerable service against the negroes.

The differences between the governor and assembly, who seem to have assumed an independency incompatible with the principles of the English government, still continuing, the duke of Portland, a great sufferer by the South-sea scheme, was appointed to succeed Sir Nicholas Lawes ; and colonel Dubourgay was made lieutenant-governor, who had been nominated to the same place under Sir Nicholas, but had never exercised his office. His grace, with his dutchess, after touching at Barbadoes, where they were magnificently entertained, arrived at Jamaica the 22d of December, 1722.

The duke was far more affable, and easy of access than any of their former governors ; and the islanders, on the other hand, settled five thousand a-year upon his grace, being double what had been allowed to any former governor. Great intestine divisions subsisting among the islanders, some of whom were upon very bad terms with the assembly and council, his grace exerted himself to the utmost to reconcile their differences. But one of the most difficult parts of his administration had relation to an old claim which had been set up by the Jamaicans, of having their laws rendered perpetual, though it had been always discouraged by their governors ;



vernors ; but they were in hopes, that the generous provision which they had made for the duke would induce him to comply with their request ; and accordingly, soon after his arrival, passed a law to that effect ; to which his grace gave a negative, acquainting the assembly, “ That the affair had been considered at home ; and that the objections to it were of such weight, as not to leave the least room to expect that the bill would meet with his majesty’s approbation.” His grace met with another great difficulty, the settling of the silver coin, the value of which had been fixed, by proclamation, in the reign of queen Anne\* ; but had been disregarded so far by the Jamaicans, that they had raised their money three-pence upon each dollar ; which produced a representation from the principal West-India merchants, both at Jamaica and London, to the then secretary of state, in consequence of whose advice his grace undertook to remedy the evil, and succeeded.

	£.	s.	d.
* Seville pieces of eight, old plate. ———	0	6	0
Ditto, new plate ——— ———	0	4	9½
Mexico pieces of eight ——— ———	0	6	0
Pillar pieces of eight ——— ———	0	6	0
Peru pieces of eight ——— ———	0	5	10½
Cross dollars ——— ———	0	5	10½
Ducatoons of Flanders ——— ———	0	6	7
French crowns, or grand ecu. ———	0	6	0
Cruzaos of Portugal ——— ———	0	3	9½
Rixdollars of Germany ——— ———	0	6	0
Dutch three guilder pieces ——— ———	0	6	10¾

The

The great quantity of uncultivated land, contrary to the tenor and spirit of the original grants, had long been a subject of complaint in England ; because, had they been properly improved, the sugar trade must have been extended, and the French checked in their vast sale for those commodities in the European markets : an evil apparently owing to the selfish views of the great planters, who, though possessed of vast tracts of improveable sugar lands, did not chuse to cultivate them ; the scarcity of sugars keeping their price high enough to answer their end, without being at farther expence. His grace strongly recommended the removal of this abuse to the council and assembly ; but to little effect. The bad state of the high roads, occasioned by the vast conveniences of water-carriage, was another object which he recommended to the legislature of the island, who removed the grievance ; so that at present there are convenient communications between all the principal parts of the island. The want of clergymen of piety, morals, and reputation, being also a third matter of complaint, owing chiefly to the uncertain provision made for them, an ample provision was now settled for the clergy. The endowment of the minister of St. Catharine's was fixed at three hundred pounds per annum ; that of Port Royal at two hundred and fifty pounds ; three others, at two hundred pounds per annum ; and all the rest at one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, which, with the large perquisites, might be justly considered a comfortable provision.

In

In 1726, the growing connections between the Imperial and Spanish courts having given umbrage to the English ministry, admiral Hosier was sent with a squadron to prevent the arrival of the Spanish treasures in Europe for that year, in order to disable the court of Madrid from executing the schemes it had formed in favour of the pretender. The duke of Portland did not live to see the event of this expedition; dying of a fever on the 4th of July, 1726, sincerely lamented by the whole island.

Hosier arrived with his squadron before Porto-bello, and demanded the South-Sea company's ship, the Royal George, which was instantly delivered to him. The secrets of the British councils, at this time, were very ill kept; for ten days before his arrival at Porto-bello, an advice-boat, from Old Spain, brought an account of his intention, upon which the treasure was relanded, and carried back to Panama; otherwise, he must have met at sea the Spanish galleons, on board which were above six millions sterling. Hosier being tied up from committing any other hostilities than merely preventing the galleons from sailing for Europe, was obliged to lie off that sickly coast till diseases swept away such numbers of his seamen, that he became an object of ridicule to the Spaniards, and of compassion to his countrymen at Jamaica, who generously afforded him succours of all kinds.

After the death of the duke of Portland, the government devolved upon John Ayscough, Esq; as president of the council; a gentleman of unexceptionable



tionable character, who held the administration till the arrival of major-general Hunter, appointed governor by his majesty, for his great knowledge of American affairs. Governor Hunter arrived in the *Lark* man of war, on the 29th of January, 1728, and issued writs for the meeting of the assembly, on the 21st of March following, who made him a present of six thousand pounds, which he accepted, notwithstanding the general instructions given to the West-Indian governors; but refused to grant him a salary of more than two thousand five hundred pounds per annum.

To enumerate all the Spanish depredations during his administration, would be endless. The passive behaviour of the English court rendered the nation every where contemptible. But the people of Jamaica were not wanting to themselves: they transmitted to England particulars of all their losses, in the most aggravating terms; which excited so universal a spirit of detestation against the Spaniards, that at last a war broke out between the two crowns, to the great mortification of the English ministry. Governor Hunter, upon some surmise of the designs of the Spaniards, laid an embargo upon the shipping, which was considered as an oppressive measure, and detrimental to the trade of the island; and imputing the dissatisfaction of the islanders to concealed papists, procured an act of assembly, by which all persons, from sixteen to sixty, were obliged to abjure the church of Rome. The bill met with a warm, and perhaps indiscreet opposition; but the

the governor's interest prevailed. He died in March, 1734. Among many other plans for the benefit of the West-India islands, Governor Hunter laid one before the government for sending six independent companies, for the protection of the island; a measure the more necessary, as the rebellious negroes were now very numerous, had inveigled great numbers of their countrymen to join them, and had fortified a pass in the mountains, called Nawny; being supplied with powder and fire arms by certain Jews, probably employed by the French and Spaniards, who threatened a descent.

Mr. Ayfcough now, a second time, succeeded to the government, till his majesty's pleasure should be known. Sensible of the necessity of immediately suppressing the negroes, martial law took place, by which every man was to become a soldier. Captain Stoddart, at the head of a strong party, with three field-pieces, undertook to dislodge them from Nawny. He accordingly got, before night, to the foot of the hill, and observing the utmost caution and silence, mounted the narrow passage leading to it in the dark, without being perceived; and having got the field-pieces mounted upon the eminence, began to play upon the negroe town with cartridge shot and musket bullets, which killing and wounding great numbers, the whole fled with the utmost precipitation. Their town was demolished, their provisions destroyed, and they suffered more that day than they had done for twenty years before,

fore, with little or no loss on the side of the English; and, after a few other skirmishes, were entirely disabled from rebelling again, for many years. By this time, the six independent companies arrived from England, to whom the assembly gave an additional pay, finding them very useful in garrisoning the different posts of the island.

Henry Cunningham, Esq; a Scotch member of parliament, next succeeded to the government of Jamaica; who owed his preferment entirely to the partiality of the then minister of state, Sir Robert Walpole. Before his arrival, Mr. Ayscough was dead, and the administration had devolved on Mr. Gregory, who had been chief justice. Cunningham had several altercations with the planters, being instructed to endeavour to allay the spirit of resentment against the Spaniards; and being naturally intemperate, died of a fever, contracted at an entertainment, six weeks after his arrival. Upon his death, Sir Orlando Bridgman was nominated to the government; but never visited the island. Mr. Gregory, therefore, as president of the council, reassumed the administration of the island; but the clamours against Spain became so outrageous in England, that the minister found himself under a necessity of appointing some man of character and resolution; and accordingly, Edward Trelawney, Esq; was made governor. Mr. Trelawney's first care was to put the island in a proper state of defence, and to heal its intestine divisions. The rebellious negroes, though defeated,  
were



far from being subdued ; and not only kept possession of the woods, and lurking places in the mountains, but were a terror to all who lived near ; so that great tracts of the best land in the island lay uncultivated. To have attempted to reduce them by arms, at this time, would have been highly impolitic, as the Spaniards would have certainly supplied them with stores of all kinds. Mr. Trelawney, therefore, offered them pardon and security, which they readily embraced, on condition of being governed by one of their own number, subject to the controul of the governor of Jamaica, and to the inspection of certain whites, who were to reside among them.

In 1739, the Shoreham man of war was dispatched to the West-Indies, with orders for making reprisals on Spain, which were received with the greatest joy ; more especially at Jamaica, from whence great numbers of privateers were instantaneously fitted out. Commodore Brown, who commanded the squadron lying there, put to sea with five ships of war, and proceeded directly to the Havannah ; but the officers of the navy not thinking these orders sufficiently authorized them to attack the Spanish settlements, commodore Brown, through fear of exceeding his orders, lost several opportunities of distressing the enemy.

The arts and influence of the minister would have continued to defeat the voice of the nation, had not the court of Spain baffled all his complying measures, disdaining even to save common appearances ;

pearances ; so that at last his majesty was convinced how absolutely necessary it was to pursue vigorous measures. Accordingly, captain Vernon was pitched on to command an expedition against the Spanish West-Indies, with which he was perfectly acquainted.

Vernon, immediately upon his arrival, attacked Porto-bello, with only six ships of the line, made himself master of the town and forts, and entirely demolished the fortifications. His next attempt was against the town of Chagre, in which he was equally successful.

The establishment of the South-Sea company, and the assiento-contract, gave a severe blow to the prosperity of the island ; for its trade with the Spaniards was not only discouraged at home, as incompatible with the interests of that company, but the company also complained in such terms to the court of Spain, of the illicit trade carried on by the Jamaicans, that the Spaniards, under pretence of suppressing it, had committed all the depredations which gave rise to the war. The court of Versailles declaring, that they would not suffer the English to make any conquests in the West-Indies, and having sent squadrons to assist the Spaniards in bringing home their treasure, the ministry resolved to send such a naval and land force, under the command of Sir Chaloner Ogle and lord Cathcart, as, when joined with the ships already in the Spanish West-Indies, might be equal to the conquest both of French and Spanish America.

rica. This greatly hurt the trade of Jamaica, by the vast number of hands that were pressed in England for the manning of so large a fleet; so that seamen's wages rose upon that island to the extravagant rate of twenty guineas per man, besides other advantages, for the run home; and few were to be procured even at that rate. This scarcity of hands was the more fatal to Jamaica, as the inhabitants were both able and ready to have fitted out squadrons of privateers, for making attempts and settlements upon Cuba, and other parts of Spanish America; which must have turned out extremely advantageous to the adventurers, and have saved the public vast sums.

Lord Cathcart dying on his passage, the command of the land-forces devolved on general Wentworth, who entertained as great a contempt for the sea service as Vernon did for the army. Thus, from the dissentions that prevailed between the two principal commanders, Carthagena and St. Jago, the capital of Cuba, were attacked in vain; and this expedition, the most expensive ever attempted by England, ended unhappily, though the damage sustained by the Spaniards was estimated at a million sterling.

Notwithstanding the immense national loss sustained by these two expeditions, in which, at least, twenty thousand English subjects perished, though few were killed by the enemy, the Jamaicans were very considerable gainers by the Spanish prizes that were brought into the island, which rendered them



very alert in promoting any expedition against the Spanish West-Indies. The reinforcement from England, consisting of near three thousand troops, arriving at Jamaica, on the 15th of January, in a general council of war, at which governor Trelawney was present, it was resolved to surprize Panama, in consequence of a plan laid down for that purpose, by one lieutenant Lowther. An expedition against Panama being a favourite scheme of Trelawney's, he embarked in this as a colonel ; but the Spaniards being alarmed, and reinforced by the garrison of Porto-bello, through the negligence of Vernon and Wentworth, the attempt was judged impracticable, at that time, in a council of war, and the forces returned to Jamaica.

Upon their return, lieutenant Hodgson was now sent to the Mosquito coast, to settle at Rattan, in the Gulph of Honduras, one hundred and fifty leagues south-west of Jamaica, and fourteen to the north-west of Truxillo bay, on the Spanish main ; a healthy well watered island, about thirty miles long, and thirteen broad. From this step, the Jamaicans promised themselves, exclusive of the logwood-trade, an opening for a commerce with the Spanish inhabitants of Guatimala. Hodgson carried out with him a captain's commission for one Pitts, a logwood cutter, who having been long settled in those parts, had great interest with the Indians ; and two hundred of the American regiment, with fifty marines, were sent, under convoy of the Litchfield and Bonetta sloops, to Rattan, with an engineer, stores of

all kinds, and six months provision. The settlement was effected without opposition, a town, and fortifications for its defence, were erected, and Pitts appointed governor. Vernon and Wentworth, on their return to England, were graciously received, and both preferred, notwithstanding their mutual recriminations; and Sir Chaloner Ogle remained at Jamaica with the fleet. The spirit of discord, which had possessed Vernon and Wentworth, seems now to have entered into Sir Chaloner Ogle and governor Trelawney; and even swords were drawn in their disputes. Ogle, though brave, was ignorant of every thing but his own profession; and Trelawney, who was of a hasty unforgiving temper, could by no means be brought to a reconciliation with him, which proved very detrimental to the island. Little occurs with regard to the history of Jamaica during the remaining part of the war.

Trelawney was succeeded by Charles Knowles, Esq; Under him the island enjoyed a tolerable share of tranquillity; but the seat of war being transferred elsewhere, the inhabitants no longer partook of the benefits which their situation heretofore threw in their way, and several bickerings arose between them and their governor. The administration at home was now daily troubled with complaints against the planters of Jamaica, from the sugar-refiners and grocers, on account of the high price of sugars; and the affair, at last, was brought before the parliament, where the cause of the Jamaicans

was vigorously supported by alderman Beckford. On the 8th of March, 1753, the committee of the house of commons, to whose consideration the matter had been referred, reported, that the peopling of the island of Jamaica with white inhabitants, and cultivating the lands thereof, was the most proper measure for the security of that island, and for increasing the trade and navigation between that island and Great Britain, as well as to and from several other parts of his majesty's dominions; and that the endeavours hitherto used by the legislature of Jamaica, to increase the number of white inhabitants, and to enforce the cultivation of lands, in the manner which may conduce best to the security and defence of the island, have not been effectual for these purposes. A bill was accordingly ordered in, for the better peopling the island of Jamaica with white inhabitants; for encouraging the cultivation of lands, at present uncultivated in that island; and for making a proper distribution of such lands, which was read a first time; but the representatives of the council and assembly of Jamaica had so much weight, that the house thought proper not to proceed on the bill till further information was received concerning the state of the island.

Mean while, the Jamaicans were pestered with Spanish depredations, and in vain sent repeated complaints on that head to England. The ministry, not thinking them of sufficient importance to risk a war with Spain, acquainted them, that they  
might



might proceed with their own admiralty powers against the delinquents ; the principal of whom were Simon and Domingo de Cuenca, who, after committing the most flagrant acts of piracy, coming to trade on the island, were apprehended. Their defence on their trial was, that they acted under a commission from the king of Spain ; but as such a plea was ridiculous in a time of peace, they were both condemned ; and orders were sent from England for their execution, though the Spanish ambassador had interested himself greatly in their favour.

The seat of government had always hitherto been fixed at St. Jago de la Vega, commonly called Spanish Town. As the island increased in commerce and population, St. Jago, being an inland town, was found to be extremely inconvenient for the merchants, who generally resided at Kingston, and complained of the expence that attended their taking out clearances at Spanish Town, and the great trouble they were put to in going thither to attend the assembly, and the courts of law ; and therefore requested the governor to remove the seat of government to Kingston, which he accordingly did. This raised him a great many enemies among the planters whose estates and properties lay near Spanish Town ; and nineteen members of the assembly sent over representations against him to his majesty. But a difference of a still more important nature arose between the governor and assembly. It had always been customary at Ja-

maica, for the laws that were passed to be in force until they obtained the royal assent; but as the government had found very bad effects from the execution of those laws in the intermediate time, the governor had been directed not to give his assent to any bill wherein his majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways effected, unless a clause was inserted suspending the execution of such bill until his majesty's pleasure should be known. The governor, in adhering to these instructions, embroiled himself with the assembly, who, on the 29th of October, 1753, resolved, that they had a right to raise, and to apply public money, without the consent of the government and council, alledging the antient practice, in justification of this resolution; and several other votes were passed, highly derogatory to the royal prerogative.

Matters now came to such an extremity, that the governor was obliged to dissolve the assembly, whom he accused of invading the royal prerogative, of attempting to alter the established constitution of their country, of having entered into a combination to govern independently, and of endeavouring to subvert the government, and wrest it out of the hands of the sovereign; of having squandered, for years past, upwards of ninety thousand pounds of the public money, in gratifications to particular favourites, and in making jobs of their fortifications, and other public buildings, to the great  
grievance

grievance of the public, who ought to have another opportunity of chusing more faithful representatives, as the whole power of the assembly centered in a decemvirate. These charges, though perhaps overstrained, were not groundless; for a very powerful faction had actually formed an association, which, under a pretext of preserving the tranquillity of the island, obliged the members to be determined in all their proceedings by three fourths of their own number: this association was to support the governor in his measures, as long as he appeared to have at heart the public service; but were to join in opposing him, if it was thought he acted otherwise, first giving notice to the other members. An extraordinary paper, as it was called, was also drawn up, allotting the several subscribers their particular shares of business, which engagements were undoubtedly unconstitutional. The next assembly did not prove more agreeable in its complexion, and was likewise dissolved. Knowles, in his turn, was accused of arbitrary proceedings, and bad practices. However, the parliament of England, by their resolutions, condemned those of the assembly, concerning the raising and application of money; and justified the governor in the several checks he had given to their proceedings, but were silent with respect to the propriety of his removing the seat of government. Upon the return of Knowles to England, brigadier Haldane was appointed governor, who died before he entered upon the exercise of his



government: he was succeeded by William Lyttleton, Esq; governor of South Carolina; and the intestine divisions of the island seemed now entirely at an end.

In 1760, a dangerous conspiracy among the negroe-slaves broke out on Easter Monday, which for some time filled the whole island with terrible apprehensions. Two Coromantic negroes, belonging to Ballard Beckford, Esq; named Tacky and Jamaica, had long been concerting a rebellion with three other chiefs of their country, who were each to have an estate for his good services; but by the assistance of the free negroes settled at Nawny, after a few skirmishes, in one of which captain Cudjoe lost his son, the rebels were entirely defeated, few escaping, their commanders, Tacky and Jamaica, slain, and the ringleaders being tried, and found guilty of rebellion, were executed by various tortures.

In order to prevent such insurrections for the future, the justices assembled at the sessions of peace established the following regulations: That no negroe slave should be allowed to quit his plantation, without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave: that every negroe, playing at any sort of game, should be scourged through the public streets: that every publican suffering such gaming in his house should forfeit forty shillings: that every proprietor suffering his negroes to blow a horn, or make any other noise in his plantation, should be fined in ten pounds; and every overseer allowing these

these irregularities should pay half that sum, to be demanded, or distrained for, by any civil or military officer: that every free negro, or mulatto, should wear a blue cross on his right shoulder, on pain of imprisonment: that no mulatto, or negroe, should hawk or sell any thing, except fresh fish and milk, on pain of being scourged: that rum and punch houses should be shut up during divine service on Sundays, under the penalty of twenty shillings; and on other nights at nine o'clock. Notwithstanding these regulations, the remains of the rebellious negroes made nocturnal irruptions into the nearest plantations, where they acted with all the wantonness of barbarity; so that the people of Jamaica were obliged to use the utmost vigilance and circumspection, while rear-admiral Holmes took every precaution to secure the island from insults and invasion.

The admiral having received intelligence, that five French frigates were equipped at Cape Francois, on the island of Hispaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchant-ships to Europe, stationed the ships under his command in such a manner as was most likely to intercept them; and by the gallantry of captains Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, who fell in with the French fleet, two of the frigates were taken, and the other three destroyed. Immediately after the capture of the frigates, eight French privateers were destroyed, or brought into Jamaica, where every day numbers of rich prizes arrived. Thus this island remained in a more flourishing

rising condition, during the latter end of the late war than it had known for almost a century before; and by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, was left in full enjoyment of the sugar-trade, free from the rivalry of Guadaloupe or Martinique. The magazines, fortifications, &c. are in excellent condition, its commerce secured by a squadron stationed there for its protection, and the stipulations obtained from Spain in favour of the logwood trade, have now confirmed our right to that important branch, which, no longer precarious, is now fixed on a solid basis.

Soon after the conclusion of the late peace, the powder magazine of Augusta, the best fortress in the island, blew up by lightning; all the buildings in the fort were shattered in pieces, and about thirty whites, among whom were several officers, one lady, and eleven negroes, were killed by the explosion. Great numbers were wounded, at the distance of a mile from the place where it happened, and the concussion felt above ten miles in circumference. The loss sustained, exclusive of two thousand eight hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, amounted to upwards of fifteen thousand pounds sterling.

The CLIMATE, NATURAL HISTORY, and PRODUCTS of JAMAICA, and the other West-Indian Islands.

Jamaica lies between the 75th and 79th degrees of west longitude from London, and is between  
seven-



seventeen and nineteen degrees distant from the equinoctial. It is in length, from east to west, upwards of one hundred and forty English miles, in breadth about sixty, and of an oval form; divided by a ridge of rocky mountains, which give rise to a vast number of fine rivulets, well stored with fish of various kinds, though they contain none of the European species, except eels and crawfish. The mullet is very palatable, and the colipever little inferior to salmon. None of these rivers are navigable, or indeed could be made so without vast expence; yet some of these are so large, that canoes loaded with sugars, pass from very remote plantations to the sea-side. The soil, in general, is excellent, especially in the northern parts of the island, and prodigiously fertile.

The longest day is little above thirteen hours, and the night proportionably long. About nine in the forenoon the heat is intense, and could scarce be endured, was it not tempered by the sea-breeze, which generally begins to blow about that time, and continues till five in the afternoon. The nights are sometimes pretty cool; and every night there falls a piercing dew, which is extremely unwholesome. Twilight continues not above three quarters of an hour. The seasons are only distinguished by the denomination of wet and dry. On the whole, if the island was not subject to violent storms, hurricanes, and earthquakes, and if the air was not violently hot, damp, and extremely unwholesome in most parts, the fertility and beauty of the country,

try, would make it as desirable a situation for pleasure as it is for profit. The south and north parts of the island are the most wholesome, agreeable, and least subject to hurricanes.

The river waters are many of them unwholesome, and taste of copper, though there are some excellent springs. In the plains are several springs, of which salt is made; and in the mountains, not far from Spanish Town, is a hot bath of extraordinary medicinal virtues, which relieves in the dry belly-ach, an endemial distemper of Jamaica.

The natural products of this island are as numerous as perhaps those of any spot in the world of the same size. The tree which bears pimento, or all-spice, commonly called Jamaica pepper, rises to the height of above thirty feet, is straight, of a moderate thickness, and covered with a very smooth, shining, grey bark. It shoots out a vast number of branches on every side, which bears a plentiful foliage of very large beautiful leaves, of a shining green, like those of the bay tree. The bunches of flowers are formed at the very ends of the twigs, each stalk bearing a flower that bends back, within which are to be discerned some stamina of a pale green colour; to which succeed a bunch of berries, rather larger than juniper berries, like which, when ripe, they become black and smooth; but before they are quite ripe, are picked off the tree, and dried in the sun. This tree grows mostly upon the mountains. The island also produces

duces the wild cinnamon tree, whose bark is so useful in medicine ; the manchineal, which bears a most beautiful apple, and affords a most ornamental wood for cabinet-makers, though the apple and juice, in every part of the tree, are deadly poisons ; the mahogany tree ; the cedar ; the cabbage-tree, about an hundred feet high, which bears a substance on the top which looks and tastes like cabbage, and no less remarkable for the extreme hardness of its wood, which, when dry, is incorruptible, and scarcely penetrable by any tool ; the palm, from which an oil is drawn, much esteemed by the negroes ; the white wood, which is never affected by the worm with which these seas abound ; the soap-tree, whose berries answer all the purposes of washing ; the mangrove and olive bark, useful to tanners ; the fustick red-wood ; and, lately, the logwood, employed in dying ; and the forests supply the druggists with guaicum, sarsaparilla, china-root, cassia, and tamarinds. The island also produces aloes, and the cochineal plant, though the Jamaicans are ignorant of the method of managing it. The mastick-tree, iron-wood, and bulley-tree, are hard woods, fit for the millwright.

The island of Jamaica is divided into nineteen parishes, which send each two members to the assembly. Port Royal, the antient capital, stood upon the point of a peninsula, which formed a part of the shore of a noble harbour of the same name, in which a thousand sail of the largest ships may anchor, with the greatest conveniency and safety ;



ty ; there being depth of water at the key of Port Royal for vessels of the greatest burthen to lie close to the wharfs. This conveniency, and the resort of the buccaneers, (though the soil is only a hot, dry sand, which produces none of the necessaries of life, not even fresh water) soon rendered it a very considerable place, in about thirty years time containing two thousand houses, which rented as high as in London. In short, few places in the world could be compared to it for trade, wealth, and an entire corruption of manners. Port Royal continued in this flourishing state until the 9th of June, 1692, when it was overwhelmed by an earthquake. It was rebuilt, and a second time destroyed by fire. The extraordinary conveniency of its harbour tempted the inhabitants to rebuild it once more ; but, in 1722, an hurricane reduced it, a third time, to an heap of rubbish. Warned by these repeated calamities, the assembly removed the custom-house, public offices, and market from thence ; and the principal inhabitants removed to the opposite side of the bay, to a town called Kingston, now the seat of government, advantageously situated for fresh water, and all manner of accommodations. The streets are of a commodious width, regularly drawn, and intercept each other at equal distances, and right angles. It contains upwards of a thousand houses, many of them handsomely built, tho' low, with porticos, and suitable conveniences for the climate. The harbour, by the care of governor Knowles, is now strongly fortified ; its entrance  
being

being defended by Fort Charles, one of the strongest in the British islands, and a battery of sixty pieces of cannon, besides additional works. Kingston sends three members to the assembly.

St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town, situated on the river Cobre, a considerable, though not navigable stream, that falls into the sea near Kingston, formerly the seat of government, and the place where the courts of justice were held, though inferior in size and resort to Kingston, and a town of less business, is equal in gaiety to many European cities, which it seems to rival in all polite diversions. This town sends three representatives to the assembly.

In St. Catherine's parish stands a fort, mounted with ten or twelve carriage guns, called Passage Fort, being the greatest thoroughfare in the island. Port Negril has a good safe harbour, and lies conveniently for intercepting the Spanish trade to and from the Havannah. Port Antonio, in St. Ann's parish, would be the best harbour in the island, were it not for its difficult entrance; however, it is defended by a regular fort, and a small garrison. There is likewise a fort at the bay of Port Morant, on the south-east part of the island, where are excellent plantations, both of sugar and cotton, and a salt work.

The government of Jamaica is the best in the gift of the crown, that of Ireland excepted. The standing salary is two thousand five hundred pounds per annum; the assembly vote the governor as much

much more ; and this, with the great perquisites annexed to his office, make the whole near ten thousand pounds per annum.

### TRADE.

The principal exports of the island are sugars, of which they export about twenty thousand hog-heads per annum, some of which weigh a ton. Most of this is sent to the mother-country, though a small part of it goes to North-America, in exchange for beef, pork, cheese, corn, pease, staves, plank, pitch, and tar. Rum, of which they export about four thousand puncheons, esteemed better than that of the other West-India islands : molasses, in which they make the greatest part of their returns for New England, where there are vast distilleries : cotton, of which they export two thousand bags. Indigo was formerly much cultivated ; but the quantity now made is inconsiderable. Some cacao and coffee are also exported ; but the latter is not much esteemed. The Jamaicans also send to England a considerable quantity of pimento, ginger, drugs, sweetmeats, and mahogany and manchineal plank.

The logwood-trade is also considerable. We formerly cut logwood in the Bay of Campeachy, on the northern side of the peninsula of Yucatan ; but being expelled from thence by the Spaniards, the logwood-cutters settled upon the Gulph of Honduras, on the southern side of the same peninsula,



fula, where they were protected by a fort, now demolished, agreeable to an article of the late peace. These logwood-cutters are mostly fugitives from all parts of North-America, who live in a lawless manner, though they elect one of their number king, to whom they pay very little obedience. They amount in number to about five hundred, and go always well armed. The country they inhabit is extremely marshy, the air prodigiously infested with muskettoes, and the water full of alligators; yet a life of licentiousness and large gains, have perfectly reconciled them to the hardships of their employment, and the unwholesomeness of the climate.

In the dry season, when they cut logwood, they advance a considerable way into the country in search of the logwood. In the wet season, when the whole country is overflowed, they know the marks where the logwood lies, which being a heavy wood, sinks in the water, but is so easily buoyed up, that a single diver is capable of lifting very large pieces. The logwood is thus carried by the favour of the land-floods into the river, to the port where the ships lie that come upon this trade, which in some years employs near six thousand tons of shipping, consumes a large quantity of English manufactures, and is of considerable use in fabricating many others; the whole value of the returns being not less than sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum. It is generally carried on by vessels from North-America, which purchase their goods in Jamaica.

The trade which is carried on between Jamaica and the Spanish main is still more profitable than that of the logwood, especially in time of war. It is carried on in the following manner: The vessel from Jamaica being furnished with negroes, and a proper assortment of other goods, proceeds to a place called Monkey Key, within four miles of Portobello. On its arrival, a person understanding the Spanish tongue is immediately sent ashore, to give notice to the merchants of that town. Information is likewise given, with all possible expedition, to the merchants of Panama. Without loss of time, the traders set out, disguised like peasants, and carrying their silver in earthen jars, covered with flour, in order to deceive the officers of the revenue. They generally repair on board, where they are handsomely entertained, and at their departure take their purchases along with them, either negroe-slaves, or dry goods packed up in such a manner as to be carried by one person, leaving behind them the price agreed on in dollars. They are likewise furnished with provisions sufficient to serve them during their return. This traffic commonly lasts for about five or six weeks. If the whole cargo is not disposed of at this place, they shape their course then for an harbour called the Brew, about five miles distant from Carthagena, where they quickly find a vent for the rest of their goods. These are the two principal places where this trade is carried on, but they are not the only ones; the Caraccas, and many other parts upon  
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that coast, have also their share. Nor are the English the only nation concerned in it; the French from Hispaniola, and the Dutch from Curassow, likewise interfere, and have, within these few years, almost entirely cut out the English, owing chiefly to the injudicious regulations of a late minister. There was, however, when it flourished, no trade more profitable than this; the payments being not only all in ready money, but the goods selling at an higher price than in any other market. But it is prohibited by the Spaniards, under severe penalties; and the guarda costas, when they catch any of these interlopers, treat them little better than if they were pirates. Besides, they frequently seize, and otherwise maltreat, the fair traders, under pretence of their being concerned in this contraband traffick. This practice has given rise to numberless disputes between the courts of Great-Britain and Spain, and particularly was the occasion of the first Spanish war.

This commerce at all times, and the prizes which in great numbers are carried into Jamaica in time of war, for of all our islands it is the best situated for making captures, occasion a vast influx of treasure into it; so that great fortunes are made as rapidly here as any where else in the world, whilst the people appear to live in such a state of profusion and luxury in their equipages, their cloaths, furniture, and tables, as in any other place would bring on beggary and bankruptcy. On this account their treasure makes but a very short stay



amongst them, but is immediately transmitted to North-America, or Europe, to purchase the different articles of luxury and conveniency, as well as to supply their extraordinary demand for slaves, which is annually for above six thousand head, both to supply their own deficiency and the Spanish market.



## BARBADOES.

**B**arbadoes was the first settled, and is still the best peopled, considering its size, of any of the English West-India islands. It is uncertain by whom it was first discovered; most probably by the Portuguese, in their voyages between Europe and Brazil, for it lies nearly in that tract: the name it still bears seems to warrant this conjecture. The first Englishmen who landed here are said to be some sailors belonging to Sir William Courteen's fleet, which was cruising against the Spaniards, about the end of king James's reign. On their return to England, the favourable report they made of the soil, induced several adventurers to go over and settle there. But the island being entirely covered with wood, and no animals found upon it except hogs (a proof that it had been discovered before, either by the Spaniards or Portuguese) their attempts were far from being attended with success at first.

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Charles I. in the beginning of his reign, made a grant of this island to the earl of Carlisle. It does not appear that this nobleman endeavoured to settle it on his own account ; but he disposed of part of it in shares to others, who fell to planting tobacco. This culture by no means answered expectation, and they turned their views to raising cotton and indico, which succeeded better ; but it was not till the year 1647 that sugar, their present staple, became the principal object of cultivation. At that time, the king's affairs being entirely ruined in England, many gentlemen of rank and fortune, his adherents, flying from the persecutions of their enemies, took refuge in this island. From this period, its advance in produce and population is perfectly amazing. In the year 1650, thirty thousand whites, and above double the number of Indian or negroe slaves, are computed to have been living on that small island. The trade was then in the hands of the Dutch ; but soon after, under Cromwell's government, it was confined to the mother-country by the act of navigation. The colony still continued to improve, and in the year 1676, reached its highest pitch. The inhabitants, at that time, amounted to fifty thousand whites, and one hundred thousand slaves ; a degree of population not to be paralleled in China itself. Four hundred sail of ships, at an average of one hundred and fifty tons each, were employed in the trade, and their annual exports were reckoned to amount to three hundred and fifty thousand pounds ; but since that time

the trade and population of the island have been rather in a declining way, for which various causes may be assigned. The first is the sudden increase of the French islands, and the settlement of our own, particularly Jamaica, which naturally drew away many of the inhabitants from Barbadoes. The next is a contagious distemper, imported, some say, from England, others from Africa, which broke out in the year 1692, and carried off vast numbers of people; no less than twenty dying in a day in Bridgetown, the capital, and in the same proportion through the rest of the island. This distemper continued for some years, and made great havock. To this was added the war, which raged all that time, and was another instrument of depopulating the island; great numbers being carried off by ill-concerted and unsuccessful expeditions against the French colonies. To these causes may be added the running out and impoverishment of the lands; so that in later times, with extreme culture and manure, they are not able to raise so much produce as the land before brought, in a manner, spontaneously forth: but it is still a very considerable and a very valuable settlement. It is computed that there are above twenty-five thousand whites, and above treble that number of negroes on the island; a most amazing population, if it be compared with the rest of the islands, and if it be considered, that it does not contain above one hundred thousand acres. Besides rum, molasses, cotton, ginger,



ger, and aloes, it exports about twenty-five thousand hogheads of sugar every year, estimated to be worth three hundred thousand pounds ; so that, by the increase of the price of sugars, the returns of this island have diminished little from what they were at its most flourishing period.

Soon after the Restoration, king Charles II. having purchased the property of the island from the earl of Kinnoul, heir to lord Carlisle, it became henceforth a royal and a regular government ; for the support of which, and of the fortifications, the colony has granted a duty of four and a half per cent. on their produce, amounting, one year with another, to above ten thousand pounds. The militia of this island is reckoned at five thousand men, and it has been known to send out nearly that number against the French settlements : besides which, there is generally a regiment of regular troops quartered here, though seldom compleat. The salary of the governor, perquisites included, is never less than five thousand pounds ; and all the other officers of the civil establishment, which is supported with great credit, have very handsome appointments. The clergy of the church of England, which is the religion established here, as in the other islands, (and there are but few dissenters) have likewise very liberal provisions assigned them. On the whole, it is said, that there appears in this island something more of order and decency, and of a regular settled people, than in any other island in the West-Indies.

Barbadoes lies in the Atlantic Ocean, in the latitude of 13 north, and the longitude of 59 west. It is nearly of a triangular form, being in length twenty-five miles, from south to north, and fifteen in breadth, from east to west, where broadest. It is, for the most part, a plain level country, save a few hills, here and there, of an easy ascent. Tho' originally quite overspread with woods, there is little now remaining, being mostly cut down to make room for sugar and other plantations. The whole island, indeed, appears like one continued plantation; and it is so thick sown with gentlemen's houses, that there seems to be hardly one but what is within call of some other. The air is pretty healthy, and rather cooler than that of the large West-India islands; the reason of which seems to be, it is so small and level that it generates no land wind, and the sea-breeze, or trade-wind, perpetually blows. It is, like the other islands, subject to tornadoes and hurricanes in the summer months, which are very terrible and dangerous to the shipping; for they have no harbours to shelter themselves in, but only bays, where they lie at anchor, and in the principal one, Carlisle Bay, so called from the original proprietor, there is no good anchoring ground, it being foul, and apt to cut the cables. At the bottom of this bay, where there are very commodious wharfs for the shipping and landing of goods, the principal town stands, called Bridgetown, which was once a very flourishing place, consisting of above twelve hundred houses; but it  
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has been lately almost entirely destroyed by two dreadful fires, which committed vast devastation, on account of the buildings being all of wood, which, in a hot and dry season, takes fire like tinder. But such disasters will be prevented for the future; an act of assembly having passed prohibiting such buildings in the town hereafter, and ordering that they shall henceforth be of brick. There is a college in this place, the only institution of that nature in the West-Indies. Its founder was colonel Codrington, who endowed it in a very liberal manner; but it has not fully answered the benevolent intentions of the generous donor. We have already mentioned the principal articles which this island exports; but their imports are in far greater number, being almost every necessary convenience and luxury of life, even to their very houses, which are brought over framed in wood, and ready to be put up, from North-America.

This is all we think needful to say of the island of Barbadoes; for to give a history of its successive governors, with the dates of their commissions, and other things of that sort, would be as little entertaining as the muster-roll of a regiment; and it would be equally uninteresting to enter into a detail of the disputes between the inhabitants of the colony and their governors, of their appeals to the government here, with other trifling affairs. For the same reason, we shall observe a similar conduct in our account of the other islands.



SAINT CHRISTOPHER's, NEVIS,  
MONTserrat, and ANTIGUA.

THE island of St. Christopher's, vulgarly called St. Kitt's, is the colony that was settled next in order of time. By an uncommon accident, the English, under Sir Thomas Warner, and the French, under M. Desnambue, arrived on this island in the same day, in the year 1626. They made an amicable division of it between them; agreeing, however, that the fishing and hunting, the mines, salt-ponds, and most valuable timber, should remain in common to both nations. After this they fell to planting, in which the English (being more regularly supplied from home) succeeded faster, and throve better than the French; insomuch, that they settled likewise the little island of St. Nevis, separated from St. Kitt's by a small streight, hardly navigable for canoes. Three years after the first settlement, they were dislodged by the Spaniards, who beheld with jealousy their progress in the Caribbee islands. After their departure, both nations returned back, and took possession of their former habitations. The English built for themselves elegant and convenient houses, whilst the French were contented to reside in huts, after the manner of the native Caribbeans. However, they seem to have lived in harmony together till the war in queen Anne's time, when the French part was conquered by the English, and  
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the whole was finally ceded to them by the treaty of Utrecht.

St. Kitt's is about seventy-five miles in circumference. Its principal and almost sole commodities are sugar and rum, the former of which is said to be the best in quality of any that our islands produce. There is one very remarkable mountain in this island, the head of which constantly overtops the clouds. At a distance, it has the appearance of a man, with another on his back; which was the reason that Columbus, its first discoverer, gave it the name of St. Christopher's, which it still bears. There are two towns of some note in this island, the principal of which is Basse-terre, formerly the capital of the French part; the other is called Sandy Point, and always belonged to the English. There is no such thing as a harbour, or any thing that has the smallest appearance of it in this island: on the contrary, at the few landing places that there are, there is a continual surf beating on the shore, which is sandy, and prevents any key or wharf being erected upon it, and also makes landing always inconvenient, sometimes dangerous. Owing to this, they are obliged to adopt a very peculiar method of getting heavy and bulky goods, such as rum and sugar hogsheds, either shipped or landed. They use for this purpose a small boat, of a particular construction, called a *mofes*. This comes from the ship, manned with the most expert rowers. When they see what they call a lull, or any abatement in the violence of the surge, they push ashore, and lay the broadside of

of the *moses* on the beach, on which the hogshead is rolled in, and then they set off on board the ship. In this tedious and inconvenient manner the sugar is caried on board by single hogsheads, though accidents frequently happen, by which they are lost. Rum, cotton, and other commodities which will bear the water, are generally swam off, or ashore. The same method of loading and unloading is, for the same causes, used at Nevis and Montserrat.

The air at St. Kitt's is accounted wholesome, and not so hot as at Jamaica; the sea-breeze always prevailing there, for the same reason as at Barbadoes. The inhabitants are computed to be seven thousand whites, and twenty thousand negroes. On account of its being extremely mountainous in the middle, it is said to contain not more than twenty-four thousand acres fit for sugar, of which it produces ten thousand hogsheads annually, and rum in the usual proportion, which is reckoned that of three to five.

We have already mentioned the date of our settlement made on the island of Nevis, which is little more than six miles long, and appears to be one continued mountain, the top of which reaches far above the clouds, the sugar plantations lying on the sides of it, near the bottom. Small as it is, it was once in a most flourishing condition, containing about ten thousand white and twenty thousand black inhabitants, which, however, are now reduced to half the number. It produces six thousand hogsheads of sugar, with rum in proportion.

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The island of Montserrat, so called by the Spaniards from the resemblance it bears to a mountain of that name near Barcelona, lies in the 17th deg. of north latitude ; and is about nine miles in length, and as much in breadth, being nearly of a circular form. Its inhabitants and produce are much the same with those of Nevis. It was settled by Sir Thomas Warner. The original colonists were Irish, and the present inhabitants are chiefly composed of their descendants, or the natives of Ireland. The use of the Irish tongue is common, even amongst the negroes.

Antigua, which in the Spanish tongue signifies a place without water, received its name from that circumstance ; there being no rivers in it, and but few springs, and those brackish, so that the inhabitants are obliged to preserve the rain water in cisterns. This island lies in 16 deg. 11 min. north latitude, and 63 deg. west. It is of a circular form, twenty miles in length and breadth, and near sixty in circumference. The air is not so wholesome as at Barbadoes, and it is more subject to hurricanes ; but then it has excellent harbours, particularly English Harbour, which is capable of receiving the largest man of war in the navy. Here also is a dock-yard, with stores, and all other materials and conveniences for repairing, heaving down, and careening ships. But the principal trade is carried on at the harbour of St. John's, where the capital stands, and which has water sufficiently deep for merchant vessels. The town of St. John's was  
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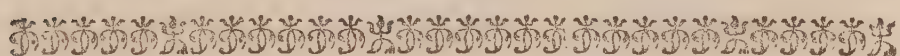
once in a very flourishing state, as may be judged by the loss sustained at the late fire, which was computed at the amazing sum of four hundred thousand pounds. But in all probability it will rise, in process of time, out of its ashes, better built and more flourishing than ever.

This island was first attempted to be settled by Sir Thomas Warner, much about the same time that St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat were planted; but that establishment did not take place. It was afterwards granted by Charles II. to lord Willoughby, then governor of Barbadoes, who, some years after receiving the grant, effectuated an establishment upon it. Soon after, but by what means is not known, it became again the public property. It raises, at present, about sixteen thousand hogsheds of sugar, which was at first of a very bad quality, unfit for the English market, and was therefore disposed of among the Dutch and Hamburgers: but the planters have greatly improved their staple since, and it is now as good as in any of the other islands.

These four islands, Antigua, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, are all under the government of one captain-general, who had a very considerable appointment, amounting to three thousand five hundred pounds sterling a year. His residence is now generally at Antigua. Each of these islands has its distinct governor, whose salary is about two hundred pounds a year, and a separate council and assembly.

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There are two other islands under this jurisdiction, those of Barbuda and Anguilla; but they have no direct communication with England, on account of their having no commodities for that market. The inhabitants are more in the nature of farmers than planters; and content themselves with raising stock and provisions, which they dispose of to the other islands.



### The VIRGIN ISLANDS.

**T**HERE is a cluster of small islands a little to the windward of Porto Rico, called the Virgins, which are divided between the Danes and English, and are indeed the only settlements which the former enjoy in the West-Indies. The principal of those in the English possession is called Tortola. This island is very unhealthy, and its chief production is cotton, said to be of the best quality that is raised in these parts of the world.



### GRENADA, TOBAGO, SAINT VINCENT, DOMINICA.

**W**E have already mentioned the reduction of Grenada, by the same fleet and army which conquered Martinico. This was the only French



French island which the English retained at the treaty of peace. It was soon after erected into a government, to which were annexed the islands of Tobago, Dominica, and St. Vincent, formerly neutral, but now ceded to Great-Britain also. We shall give some account of these in the first place, and then return to Grenada.

The island of Tobago lies the farthest to the southward of any belonging to the English, being in the latitude of 11 deg. 45 min. north. It is about twelve leagues in length, four in breadth, and thirty in circumference. King Charles I. in the year 1628, granted it away to the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery ; but we do not hear that any settlement was attempted, far less made, in consequence of this grant. Therefore, during the time of the civil wars, the Dutch took possession of it, and began to plant, and clear the woods, and were in a fair way of thriving, when the Spaniards from the island of Trinity, and the savages from St. Vincent's, fell upon them, and cut them off to a man. After which it continued a desert, till the year 1664, when it was again settled by other Dutch adventurers, who, for the first fourteen years, were exceeding successful, and had made it one of the most flourishing of the islands : but, in the year 1678, they were totally expelled by the French, and their plantations entirely ruined ; and though it was restored at the treaty of Nimeguen, yet the Dutch never after made any attempts to resettle it. After this, it came to be considered as a  
neutral

neutral island, between the French and English, till it was adjudged to the latter by the last treaty of peace. It is just now beginning to be settled, the land having been previously sold for the benefit of the public, by commissioners appointed for that purpose. Besides the commodities common to the West-Indian islands, it is said to furnish the following, peculiar to itself: an excellent kind of saffrafras, a species of mace and nutmegs, and gum copal, in great quantities. It is likewise supposed to possess another advantage, of very great moment; it lies out of the tract of those hurricanes which are so much dreaded in the other islands.

The island of St. Vincent is twenty-four miles in length, and half as much in breadth. The warmth of the climate is so well tempered with the sea-breezes, that it is accounted extremely healthful and agreeable, and on the mountains it is rather cool. The soil in general is extraordinary fertile, though the country is every where hilly, and in some places mountainous. Amongst the hills there are several pleasant vallies, and at the bottom of the mountains very large and extensive plains. No island in the world is better watered than St. Vincent's; many rivulets taking their rise in the mountains, and shaping their course from both sides into the sea. There are also several fine springs at a small distance from the sea, the slope to which is so easy and regular, that there are hardly any marshes, or standing water, on the island. It has, however, one disadvantage; it has no har-

bours, and but one good bay, called St. Antonio, which is deep and sandy, and where ships may lie safely and commodiously. The sugar-cane seems to be a native of this island, for it grows wild here. When the French were settled here, they raised no sugar at all, but every other commodity peculiar to the West-Indies; by the help of which they carried on a considerable trade with their other islands. Since it has been in possession of the English, large sugar-works have been erected, and considerable quantities imported. This island is at present much farther advanced in settlement and cultivation than Tobago. It enjoys a lieutenant-governor, and a council and assembly of its own.

Dominica lies almost exactly in the middle, between the two principal French islands, Martinico and Guadeloupe; lying eight leagues north-west from the former, and at the same distance south-east from the latter. It is at least twenty-eight miles in length, and about half that in breadth; and being nearly of a rectangular form, and not intersected by deep bays, contains more ground in proportion to its circumference than most of the other islands. It is thought by some to be almost twice as large as Barbadoes; and the French reckon it half as large as Martinico. The climate is reputed to be very wholesome, and it is watered by above thirty rivers, many of which are said to be navigable some miles from the sea, the rest very commodious for plantations, and abounding in fish. The country has a mountainous appearance, especially



cially towards the sea, but the declivities are commonly gentle, so that the cultivation is not difficult; and the soil being a deep black mould, of exceeding fertility, it largely and speedily rewards the toils of the planter. In the interior part of the island there are many rich and fine vallies, and several large and spacious plains.

It bears, in great plenty, all the woods which are common in the West-Indies; and produces what are called ground provisions in great abundance, such as bananas, potatoes, and manoul, of which cassada is made, which serves as bread to the Indians and negroes, and even to many of the Europeans. The pine apples of this island are said to excel most others in size and flavour. Wild and tame hogs, as likewise all sorts of fowls, are here extremely plentiful. There are, properly speaking, no harbours in this island; but there is good and safe anchorage all along the coast. There is, besides, Rupert's Bay, so called from the famous prince Rupert's anchoring there, which is one of the largest, safest, and most commodious in the whole world, and capable of containing the whole royal navy of Great-Britain. In fact, our fleets destined for the West-Indies generally come to anchor in this bay, for the sake of supplying themselves with wood and water, for which there are here excellent conveniencies. On the whole, this island is a most important acquisition to Great-Britain, whether we consider it on account of itself, or its situation: the vast quantities which, when fully

settled, it will produce of sugar, rum, cotton, coffee, and other valuable West-India commodities, and the manufactures and other goods which it will take in return, must be a great improvement to the riches, trade, and navigation of the mother-country. Then by its situation, lying in the center of the French islands, in case of a rupture with that people, it will be of infinite advantage to the British nation, by totally stopping all intercourse between them, and greatly interrupting their commerce with France. There are likewise said to be rich mines of precious metals in the bowels of the mountains in this island; but, indeed, the most valuable mines are what are raised on the surface of the ground, by the labour of hands. A free port, under certain restrictions, has, about five years ago, been erected here by act of parliament. It was originally a member of the government of Grenada; but it has lately been made a separate government, very judiciously, in our opinion, both on account of its own importance, and its remote situation from all the other islands in the Grenada district.

Grenada, and the cluster of small islands near it, called the Grenadines, is now, excepting Jamaica, by far the most valuable colony which Great-Britain possesses. It exports no less than twenty thousand hogsheads of sugar, and a proportionable quantity of rum, esteemed to be the next in goodness to that made in Jamaica, and by many thought equal to it. Besides, it produces coffee and cotton

in

in greater abundance than all the rest of our islands taken together; its produce in these two latter articles being esteemed equal in value to one half of its sugars. Hence, it is evident that its annual exports cannot amount to less than half a million sterling; and when it is considered, that this is paid for by the produce and manufactures of Great-Britain, and by negroe-slaves, the property of British merchants, it may be easily conceived, what a mighty accession this new acquisition has made to the riches and trade of the mother-country.

We shall now give a description of this island, and the other smaller ones adjacent to it. Grenada lies in 11 deg. 13 min. north latitude, being the southernmost of all the Antilles, and distant only thirty leagues from the Spanish main. It is about thirty English miles in length, and where broadest about sixteen; but its breadth is unequal. It is computed to be twice as large as Barbadoes, and to contain in sugar-land more than one third of what is in Martinico; but these are points which cannot be determined with any precision. From its situation, the climate must be naturally very hot; but, as in all the other small islands, this heat is greatly tempered by a continual sea-breeze. Besides, its climate has some advantages peculiar to itself; the dry and rainy seasons are remarkably regular in their periods, the blast has not been hitherto known in the island, and, what is the happiest circumstance of all, it lies out of the tract of hurricanes, which, with respect to the security of the settlements



lements on shore, and the safety of the navigation, is an inestimable benefit in this part of the world.

There are very high mountains in Grenada ; but they are few in number. The rest of the country is divided into plains and gentle eminences, which are capable of cultivation to the very top. This island is extremely well watered, and, which is remarkable, its principal streams proceed from a large lake at the top of an high mountain, situated in the center of the island, and flow down the sides of the mountain, in different directions, to the sea. Most of the hills furnish smaller brooks ; and there are almost every where very fine springs near the sea. River and sea fish, turtles, and wild fowl, are here in abundance.

But the principal excellence of Grenada consists in its convenience for anchorage, and in its harbours. There is good anchoring ground all along the coast, and on the east and west several small bays and creeks, commodious for vessels, and for landing and shipping goods. But there are two of the finest harbours in the world in Grenada. The first of these lies at the south-east extremity of the island, and is divided into the outward and the inner port : the entrance into the former is three quarters of a mile broad, but becomes gradually wider, and is above a mile extent within : the entrance into the inner port is about a quarter of a mile in breadth, and grows also wider as you advance further ; it is, for the most part, about seven fathom deep, and is excellent holding-ground, being every where a soft ouzy bottom.

bottom. The ships here may lye alongside of the warehouses, and take in their loading with great ease and convenience; after which they can, with very little trouble, be towed into the outer harbour, which enjoys this peculiar advantage, that ships can sail either in or out with the common trade wind.

The other harbour is situated at the north-west end of the island; and is a full quarter of a mile broad at the entrance, and so capacious within, that it is capable of holding, in the utmost safety, a large fleet of line of battle ships.

The Grenadilloes are a cluster of small islands, which lie between Grenada and St. Vincent, in a north-and-by-east direction. Their number is not well known, as many of them are little better than rocks: however, there are said to be twenty three which are capable of cultivation, and of producing cotton, coffee, and indigo, some say sugar; but that seems doubtful, as the cane is a very delicate plant, and requires a more distant situation from the sea than can be found in such small islands. The chief of them still retains the Indian name of Couriacou. It is of a circular form, and is about seven miles in length and breadth. Here is an excellent harbour. It is now tolerably well settled; its produce is coffee and cotton, and it sends three members to the assembly of Grenada. The island of Bequia is likewise reckoned among the Grenadilloes, though only two leagues south-west of St. Vincent. It is the largest of them all, being above twelve leagues in

circumference : it is likewise said to be the most fruitful, and to have a good port, in which the French vessels navigating between Grenada and Martinico used to take shelter during the late war.

Grenada, excepting Jamaica, is the only West-India colony which the English possess by the right of conquest. In Jamaica, the Spaniards, to a man, abandoned their settlements. In Grenada it was quite otherwise ; by the treaty of peace, the French settlers were allowed a certain time to consider whether they should retain their estates, and become British subjects, or depart the island, and sell their estates, provided it was to British subjects. Some have chosen the former, others the latter. Accordingly, purchases have been made in the islands of Grenada and Curiaou, to the amount of considerably more than a million sterling ; and as near one half of the island still remains in the hands of the French, and as it may be easily believed, that what was sold was disposed of at an under price, some judgment may be formed of the immense value of the whole.

From the conquest till the peace, and for some time after, Grenada remained a military government. During all that time, the greatest harmony subsisted between the English and the French, or, as they chose to call themselves, the New Subjects. But on its being made a civil government, and an assembly being called, disputes and dissensions arose, in which, it must be confessed, a party amongst the old subjects were the aggressors. They disputed with the French their right of voting for  
members



members of the assembly ; they branded them with the name of aliens, and made religion the pretence. This is certainly the first time that ever a religious dispute was heard of in a West-India colony, where all men, from the nature of the lives they lead, and perhaps from that of the climate, seem to be alike ignorant of and indifferent about religion. In Grenada it would appear they are only ignorant. But it would be doing the British settlers injustice to say, they were unanimous in this attack upon their fellow-subjects the French ; on the contrary, those of the greatest fortune and consideration amongst them were their most strenuous friends and advocates. But Mr. Melvill, the governor, was supposed to be at the bottom of it, which does not seem to be destitute of foundation from what has passed here, where this matter has been violently agitated in the public papers. The administration, however, have been far from adopting the narrow and confined prejudices which have given rise to those animosities ; on the contrary, two French subjects have been permitted to take their seats in the council, and three in the assembly, without being obliged to subscribe to the test, which, upon the whole, is certainly a prudent and healing measure. At all events, it is undoubtedly of the utmost importance (both for the well-being of the colony itself, and the consequence it may be attended with in case of a future war) that some mode of administration should be laid down and steadily pursued, which may unite and consolidate together both the nations

tions inhabiting those islands as firmly and speedily as possible.



## BERMUDAS.

**T**HE only two insular governments belonging to Britain that remain undescribed, are those of Bermudas and the Bahama islands. We shall begin with the former.

The Bermudas are a cluster of small islands in the 32d deg of north latitude, and 67th of west longitude. They are above two hundred leagues from any land whatsoever, and lie in the midst of a vast tempestuous ocean, as plainly appears from the innumerable holes and cavities, which the waves, beating upon the rocks with which they are surrounded, have cut into them. The American navigators never pass between the Bermudas and Cape Hatteras, which is in 35 deg. of north latitude, without terror. They call them the horse latitudes, because, on account of the violent gales of wind they meet in traversing them, they are frequently obliged to throw the horses overboard, which they are carrying to the West-India islands, and to the Dutch settlements at Surinam.

These islands are said to be in number four hundred; but by far the greater number are uninhabited rocks, and those which are inhabited do not contain

contain above twenty thousand acres. The principal island is called St. George, and is in length sixteen miles, and in breadth three, where broadest. Though by nature extremely well fortified, the inhabitants have taken the precaution to strengthen it farther, by erecting fortifications at the most accessible places. The English settlers here are about ten thousand : but there are many of the natives dispersed in the continent and islands, in the character of traders and seamen ; for being extremely prolific, and their islands supplying but few materials for commerce, and none for manufactures, both ambition and necessity oblige them to go elsewhere to seek their fortunes. They are perhaps as handsome and well-looking a people, both men and women, as any in the world, owing to the temperance of their living and the excellence of their climate, and are extremely kind and hospitable to those few strangers who come amongst them. The negroe-slaves upon these islands are not so many in proportion as on the others, and being almost all born there, as well as better used than is customary elsewhere, they are in general as serviceable and intelligent as white servants.

The principal and most profitable employment of these islanders, is building sloops, and small brigantines and snows, of an excellent and most durable cedar wood, which they had once growing among them in vast plenty ; but from the great consumption, it is now said to be on the decrease. It is incorruptible, and never touched by the worms :



worms : vessels built of it run for a long time, perhaps six or seven years, without requiring the least repair, not even calking. They are of a peculiar construction, and all of them very fast sailors, and on that account in great request amongst all nations, especially in time of war, for privateers. A small sloop, not much above one hundred tons, has been known to fetch twelve hundred pounds. There are quarries of a soft white stone, which, however, hardens afterwards in the air, much in the nature of Bath stone, of which they carry cargoes to the continent, and this seems to be, properly speaking, the only produce they have. They had once a manufacture of a particular kind of chip hats, which were, for a time, in great request amongst the ladies in England ; but the fashion ceasing, the manufacture ceased also. The islands of Bermudas abound in great variety of wild-fowl, especially of the aquatic kind. Their sounds, and surrounding seas, are well stored with fish, and the Bermudians are most dextrous fishermen, especially with the harpoon. They are said to trust so much in this dexterity, as frequently to go to sea very slenderly stored with provisions, expecting to catch sufficient during the voyage, and they are never known to be disappointed. There are a great many whales about these islands, many of the spermaceti kind, and they are not unfrequently driven ashore. An incident of this nature afforded a subject for an excellent poem, by the polite and elegant Waller, the first great refiner of English poetry.

poetry. The inhabitants once attempted a whale fishery ; but it did not meet with success. Ambergrease, that drug of such immense value, but whose composition is so utterly unknown, is sometimes met with among the rocks, in lumps of a considerable bigness. Three seamen, who were by some accident left ashore on these islands before they were settled, found, in the course of their rambles among the rocks, a lump of that commodity, weighing above eighty pounds, with several other pieces of a smaller size.

Mulberry-trees thrive extremely well in the Bermudas ; and, considering their populousness, it might be expected, that raw silk could be made a considerable article of produce, for the main obstruction to the raising of that commodity in the continent, is the dearness of labour and the scarcity of hands. Some authors propose attempting to raise cochineal here ; but this appears to be a project which has no probability of succeeding. A much more feasible scheme, in our opinion, would be the culture of vines, for which both the climate and soil seem admirably calculated ; and they could not fail of a constant market for them in the neighbouring continent.

There is one capital town here, called St. George, after the name of the principal island, in which it stands. It is one of the finest towns in our plantations, containing above a thousand houses, built of a beautiful white free-stone, peculiar to these islands. It is, besides, extremely strong, both by nature

nature and art. The harbour, before which it stands, is inaccessible to strangers, without the assistance of pilots, and is at all times extremely dangerous : it is, besides, defended by seven forts, upon which seventy great guns are mounted, all which could be brought to bear upon any vessel which should attempt to force an entrance.

There have been disputes about the origin of the name of these islands ; some alledging, that they are called Bermudas from the great quantity of black hogs found upon them, for it seems that is the Spanish name for those animals. But it is more probable that they were called so from one John Bermudas, a Spaniard, shipwrecked upon them. They are also called the Summer Islands, from an accident of the same nature, which happened to Sir George Summer, one of the first settlers of Virginia. It was owing to this that they were first settled by the English. The Virginia company hearing a favourable report of the soil and temperature of the air, and indeed they are said to be the pleasantest and healthiest spot on the face of the earth, sent a colony thither, which in a short time thrived exceedingly. They now constitute a distinct royal government ; the governor and council being appointed by the crown, and the assembly chosen by the people.



## The BAHAMA or LUCAYO ISLANDS.

THESE islands were the first land discovered by Columbus. They were at that time very populous, and the inhabitants were a most innocent and harmless race of men ; but they were all, in a few years after the discovery, butchered and totally extirpated by the merciless Spaniards, who seem to have had no other incitement to that act of barbarity but a cruel disposition, and an innate thirst for human blood ; for the Spaniards never attempted any settlement upon them, as they did not produce the precious metals ; but, after having depopulated, left them to be occupied by the first Europeans who should think it worth while to form an establishment there. These were the English : King Charles II. granted them to the proprietors of Carolina, who sent out several governors, and built the town of Nassau, on the island of New Providence, which is the seat of government. They were more than once expelled by the French and Spaniards, and the settlement was entirely dislodged in the year 1708, and continued in a depopulated condition, entirely neglected by the British government, till 1718, when measures were taken to re-settle these islands, upon the following occasion : After the peace of Utrecht, great numbers of seamen, either thrown out of employment or loath to discontinue the privateering life, so nearly allied to the piratical, which they had been accustomed to during

during the war, commenced pirates, and boldly declared war against all mankind. They reigned for some years in the American and West-Indian seas, and they took a great many ships from all nations. The harbour of Providence, which they fortified, and where they built huts or houses, was their principal rendezvous; and they grew to such a height as at last to attract the notice of government. Captain Woodes Rogers, the famous circum-navigator, was sent out at the time above-mentioned, with a commission to be governor, with three men of war, and orders to dislodge them. This he effected with little opposition; and on his publishing a proclamation promising a pardon and indemnity, most of the pirates came in and submitted. Their posterity continue there to this day, and seem still to retain some of the habits of their ancestors. During the time of war, their great and favourite occupation is privateering, in which they are not over-scrupulous, either in seizing neutral vessels, or getting them condemned afterwards. In time of peace, many of them follow wrecking as a business, fitting out small vessels to look for ships which have been cast away on the Florida shore, or on the shoals and keys of the Bahama bank. They sometimes meet with very rich prizes; and it is alledged, how truly we cannot say, that they will sometimes decoy those whom they perceive to be strangers, into places where they are shipwrecked, and plunder them afterwards.

Ever

Ever since the government of captain Rogers, the Bahama islands have continued to be the acknowledged property, and have remained in the possession of the English. They lie to the northward of Cuba, and east and south-east of East-Florida, between the 21st and 28th deg. of north latitude, and the 71st and 82d of west longitude. Their number is very uncertain, amounting, without doubt, to some hundreds; but by far the greatest part are small rocks and keys, that is, little hillocks, just emerging out of the water. Some, however, are of a very considerable bigness. The principal are, first, the island of Bahama, from which the rest take their general name, which lies in 26 deg. 45 min. latitude, and is distant from the peninsula of Florida about twenty leagues. It is in length about fifty miles, and where broadest sixteen. It enjoys a temperate air, and is reported to be a very fruitful and pleasant country; but it is uninhabited. The next is Lucayo, which has also given its name to these islands: this, as well as Andros and Long-Island, runs out much more in length than breadth. They are all narrow slips, and five or six times longer than broad. But the most eligible of all those islands for a settlement, is that of Exuma; not only on account of the fertility of the soil and temperature of the climate, but the excellence of the harbour, or as it is commonly called, the sound, which is capable of containing the whole navy of England in safety. A plantation was attempted on this island before the late



war; but was afterwards deserted, out of apprehension of the enemies privateers.

There are only three of these islands settled, and those neither the largest nor the most fertile; Providence, already mentioned, Harbour-Island, and Eleuthera. They are all, however, remarkably healthful; it being no uncommon thing to see persons, especially in Eleuthera, aged above an hundred years. The soil of Providence is hard, dry, and rocky; it does not seem capable of rearing any produce except cotton, which has been lately attempted with a tolerable prospect of success. There grow great plenty of limes in Providence; and inconsiderable as this article may seem, it constitutes the chief part of their exportation to North-America. They also carry thither pine-apples, which are mostly raised in Harbour-Island and Eleuthera. Green turtle, in great numbers, are caught on the Bahama banks, the greater part of which are now brought to London. They cut dying woods, *lignum vitæ*, and an inferior sort of mahogany, on their own islands and the Florida keys, of which their chief returns to England consist. In short, this establishment is at present of little consequence, except on account of its situation in time of war; but were all the best islands to be once fully settled by industrious inhabitants, as they are capable of producing cotton, indigo, and sugar, they would soon become of very great consequence to the mother-country.

Of

## Of the MANUFACTURE of SUGAR.

**I**T will appear from this account we have given of the trade and commerce of America and the West-India islands, that all their imports into Great-Britain, as well as other parts of the world, or their returns for the manufactures received from thence, consist of simple unmanufactured produce, except the three following articles, rum, sugar, and indigo. We shall therefore say something of the manner in which the two latter are prepared for the European market ; for the first, being by the common process of distillation, is already sufficiently understood.

The best situation for a sugar plantation is on the banks of a navigable stream, for the convenience of water, both for the mills and carriage. A situation near the sea, on the windward part of an island, is not eligible ; for the cane is a tender plant, and liable to be blasted : therefore, it is evident, that very small islands, however fertile their soil, are not proper for sugar plantations. After the spot is pitched upon, it must be cleared of all the wood, the roots grubbed up, and then diligently hoed. Then, in the planting season, which is the month of August, small trenches are dug in the ground, about half a foot deep, and at proper distances. In each of these a cane is laid, lengthwise, and then covered with earth. In a short time, a young cane sprouts up from every joint of the

buried plant, and becomes tall and vigorous in about a fortnight; it, however, requires to stand sixteen months before it is ready for cutting. Cane grounds, for the sake of dispatch and saving time, are generally divided into three parts: one is of the canes that are to be cut in the approaching season, the other is of the canes that are new planted, and the third of fallow ground, and preparing to be planted. By this means, there are annual crops; but in some places, where the ground is fertile or newly broken up, the same roots supply three or four successive cuttings. The tops of the canes, and the leaves, are excellent fodder for the cattle; and the refuse, after the juice is pressed out, serves for the purpose of firing.

The canes being cut, which is done near the root with a billet, are tied into bundles, and carried to the mill, which is either worked with water, wind, or cattle. By means of the wheel, three great cylinders, or rollers plated with iron and set perpendicular, are set in motion. The middle roller moves the side ones, each in an opposite direction. The canes are first put in between the middle and one of the side rollers, and squeezed through, where they are received, and again thrust in between the middle and the other roller, and again squeezed through in an opposite direction. The juice thus obtained, runs through a hole into a vat, placed under the rollers for its reception; from whence it is conveyed by pipes into a great reservoir, where, however, it is not suffered to stand long,



long, for fear of turning sour, but is by other pipes conveyed into a large cauldron, where it is boiled until no more scum rises ; from this it is successively conveyed through five or six boilers more, all which gradually diminish in size, till it comes to the last, when, being now greatly reduced in quantity, it becomes of a very thick and clammy consistence ; and now, to procure the granulation, some lime water is poured in, which occasions a very violent fermentation, which, when it has continued a sufficient time, is made all at once to subside, by throwing in a small bit of butter. It is now taken out, and placed in a cooler, where it dries, granulates, and becomes fit for being placed in the pots, which is the last part of the operation. The pots are conical, or shaped like a sugar-loaf ; there is a hole at the point, which must be considered as the bottom, over which a strainer is put. The sugar now purges itself of its remaining impurity ; the molasses, or treacly part, drains thro' the aperture into vessels placed for its reception. It is now called muscavado sugar, is of a yellowish brown colour, and in that condition is commonly put into the hogsheds, and shipped off. But when a greater degree of fineness is wanted, and a farther purgation of the sugar from the molasses, the pots just mentioned are covered with a sort of white clay, like that used in making tobacco-pipes, diluted with water. This penetrates the sugar, and uniting with the molasses, and carrying them off with it, leaves the sugar of a whitish colour, but

whiteſt at top. They are now called clayed ſugars; and though this operation is ſometimes repeated three or four times, by which, at every time, the ſugar is diminished in quantity but increaſed in value, it ſtill goes under that name; refining ſugar being in a manner prohibited in the iſlands, by the impoſition of an heavy duty of ſixteen ſhillings the hundred weight.

Of the molaffes rum is made, and ſometimes of the juice of thoſe poor canes which will not produce ſugar. It is computed, that when things are well managed, the rum and molaffes defray the annual expence of the plantation, and that all the ſugars are clear gain. A compleat ſugar-work, with land in proportion, and from two hundred and fifty to three hundred ſlaves, may manufacture about five hundred hogſheads of ſugar, producing, one with another, and clear of all charges, fourteen or fifteen pounds ſterling each. From whence the immense profits of a ſugar-plantation, though the expences at the firſt ſetting out muſt be great, may be eaſily conceived.



## Of the MANUFACTURE of INDIGO.

**T**HERE is no commodity from which a planter, with a ſmall capital, raiſes ſo great a profit as from the culture and manufacture of indigo. This dye uſed to be produced in great quantities

tities in our West-India islands ; but it has been of late greatly neglected there, and the preference given to sugar. South-Carolina and Georgia are the two colonies where its culture is most attended to, and where it is raised in the greatest quantities.

The plant, or rather weed, from which this dye is made, when young, is hardly to be distinguished from lucerne-grass; but, when come to maturity, has much the appearance of fern. It generally grows to the height of about two feet, the leaves round, of a green colour, inclining towards brown on the upper side of the leaf, silver coloured underneath, and pretty thick ; the flowers are almost like those of pease, and of a reddish colour, from whence proceed long crooked pods, resembling a sickle, which contains a little seed in them like radish seed, of an olive colour. The manner of planting it is as follows : the ground set apart for that being first diligently cleared of all other vegetables, holes are made in it about a foot distance from each other, in every one of which ten or twelve seeds are thrown, and then lightly covered with earth. In three or four days, especially if there has been rain, the plant will appear ; and in six weeks, or two months, be ready for cutting, and making indigo. The time of sowing is commonly after the first rains which succeed the vernal equinox ; consequently the first cutting, for there are sometimes three, must be about the beginning of July ; the second is towards the end of August, and at Michaelmas, if the season has been favourable,



ble, the third and last cutting is obtained. During all this time the plantation must be attended with the utmost care; the land must be weeded every day, and the plants carefully cleansed from the worms. To a plantation of fifty acres about twenty-five negroes are allotted. Every acre, if the land be very good, produces sixty or seventy pounds weight of indigo; the medium is computed at fifty. When the plant begins to blossom it ought to be cut, after which, and in carrying it to the place where it is manufactured, great care must be taken to press or shake the leaves as little as possible; for much of the beauty and value of the indigo depends on the fine farina or meal which adheres to them.

Indigo works, though large, are not very expensive; the whole consisting of a pump and vats or tubs of cypress wood. The first vat is called the steeper, which is from twelve to fourteen feet square, and about four feet deep. In this the indigo weed is laid to the height of fourteen inches; and in about twelve or sixteen hours, according to the heat or coolness of the weather, after the water has been let into the vat, it begins to ferment, swell, rise, and grow sensibly warm; upon this spars of wood are laid across to prevent its rising too much. When it is judged that the fermentation has attained its due pitch, and is beginning to abate by its falling below a certain mark, placed on purpose on the side of the vat, the liquor is made to run off by a cock into another vat, called  
the

the beater. The gross matter remaining in the steeper is used for manuring the ground, and new cuttings are put in as long as the harvest continues.

The liquor now in the second vat being strongly impregnated with the particles of indigo, next undergoes the operation of what is called the beating, which is performed with a sort of bottomless buckets, having long handles : with these, for the space of twenty, thirty, or thirty-five minutes, according to the temperature of the air, this liquor is continually and strongly wrought and agitated till it heats, froths, ferments, and rises above the rim of the vessel containing it. Should the fermentation be too violent it is instantly allayed by throwing in a small quantity of oil. By this means a small muddy grain begins to be formed ; for the salts, and other parts of the plant, now incorporated with, and dissolved in the water, are separated from it, and a granulation ensues. When it is sufficiently beaten, of which a judgment is formed by taking up some of it, and viewing it in a glass, in order to hasten the granulation, a certain quantity of lime water is let in from an adjacent vessel, the workmen gently stirring it all the time. The liquor now assumes a purplish colour, and the whole becomes turbid and muddy ; it is then suffered to settle, and the clear water is gradually drained off, till nothing remains at bottom but a thick mud, which is put into bags of coarse linen. These are hung up, and left hanging till all  
the

the moisture is entirely drained off. To finish the drying, this mud is turned out of the bags, and worked upon boards of some porous timber, with a wooden spatula; with the same view it is frequently exposed to the morning and evening sun, though for a short time only. The last operation is the curing, which is performed by cutting it into little square pieces, and putting it into boxes and frames, where it is again exposed to the sun in the same cautious manner. After indigo is ready for the market there are two ways of proving its goodness; the first is by throwing it into water; if it sinks, it is worth little, and the heavier the worse; if it swims it is good; if it dissolves entirely it is likewise good. The second is by fire; if it consumes entirely away, it is good, for the adulterations remain untouched.

There are three sorts of Indigo cultivated in Carolina and Georgia, which owe their difference to the nature of the seed. The first is the French, or Hispaniola indigo, which striking a long tap root, requires a deep rich soil, and is therefore but little cultivated in the maritime parts, which are generally sandy. The second is the false guatimala, or true Bahama; and the third is the indigenous indigo, a native of the country. Both these are content with any soil; and for easiness of the culture, and quantity of the produce, though not for the quality of the dye, answer the purposes of the planter better.



THOUGHTS on the SLAVE-TRADE, and the  
Number and Management of Negroes in  
the Plantations.

**A**LL the field-work in the West-Indies, and in Virginia, and the colonies to the southward, except in some of the back settlements, is performed by negroes, brought from the coast of Africa, or born of those who have originally come from thence. This trade is carried on by ships fitted out and furnished with proper cargoes at the ports of London, Bristol, or Liverpool. They repair to the African coast, and having got on board their intended number, or nearly so of Blacks, who are generally prisoners taken in the wars, which the petty nations on that coast carry on amongst one another for that very purpose, they sail to the West-Indies, or to the southern continental colonies, where the slaves are either consigned to the correspondents of the British merchants, or disposed of by the masters of the respective ships, which then return to Britain, loaded with the produce of the colonies where they have left their cargoes.

This is the manner in which this famous commerce is managed, to which there are innumerable objections on the side of humanity, and which indeed can only be justified by necessity ; but which must ever continue as long as men prefer their interest to all other considerations.

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The foundation of this trade lies in the want of hands to cultivate the southern plantations, the unfitness of Europeans for that purpose, and, lastly, in the barbarism of those nations where the slaves are procured. Hence it appears that this trade, against which many well-meaning men have so loudly exclaimed, whilst there are civilized nations who want slaves, and whilst there are barbarians who will sell them, must ever remain. Should those regions which now supply America with that species of commodity, as it may be called, ever come to be inhabited by a wise, civilized, and well policed people, this commerce would, no doubt, from that æra be at an end; and our adventurers in that business would be constrained to seek out some other quarter of the world inhabited by uncultivated nations. This has ever been the case. The Greeks and Romans were supplied with the greatest number of their slaves from Thrace, and other barbarous countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Slavery is a very ancient institution, coeval with our knowledge of human affairs. The laws relating to it constituted a great part of the Roman code. These were originally excessively severe, but were afterwards mollified by the emperors. The behaviour of the ancients to their slaves was likewise extremely cruel, and quite in the spirit of their laws. By degrees, however, as the minds of men grew more humanized, and as the old ferocity of manners began to abate, slavery was insensibly

ably abolished among all the European Christian nations, except the Poles and Russians. But the nature, situation, and climate of their American settlements revived it amongst them in those countries. It is a necessary but unfortunate circumstance. Necessary, because such is the nature of the climate, and of the labour to be performed, that no European constitution is able to undergo it, or at least to perform so much as to be any sort of equivalent to the expence. By the original settlement of the colony of Georgia, negroe-slaves were totally excluded from it; but a very short experience made it appear, that this was an impracticable measure; that institution was obliged to be repealed, and blacks are now as numerous there as in any other of the colonies. It is certain that Africans, or their descendants, are better able to support severe labour in hot countries than any of European blood. But it is an unfortunate circumstance, because no institution is so apt as slavery to extirpate the milder and more amiable virtues of compassion and humanity, and to render men cruel, hard-hearted, and remorseless. Men who are surrounded with great numbers of their fellow-creatures, who are their own absolute property, come soon to consider them in the light of animals and beasts of burthen, and by degrees extend that consideration to all the rest of the species. A remarkable instance of this in South-Carolina we have heard well attested. The most laborious drudgery in that colony is clearing the rice of its husk. This

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is now generally performed by machines ; but formerly it was done by the hand-labour of the slaves, who used for that purpose a wooden trough, in which the rice is put, and then beat it with a mallet, much of the same nature with that used by paviors. An eminent planter in that colony, whenever there happened a sudden demand for rice, used commonly to destroy five or six of his slaves in a season, by over-tasking them at that drudgery, and coolly justified this shocking barbarity, by alledging, that he found the extraordinary profit he made by this means of his rice, more than compensated the value of the slaves he lost. We are afraid that such barbarians are too often to be met with in all our colonies,

It is certain that the treatment of the negroes in our plantations is very hard and severe ; and the punishment inflicted upon them for faults and neglects very cruel and inadequate. In capital cases it is generally attended with torture : they are often burnt ; frequently hanged up alive, in which situation they are generally eight or nine days a dying. This, besides the natural inhumanity of those who have been long conversant among the slaves, is likewise owing to the vast disproportion of numbers between the whites and the blacks, which obliges the former to observe the latter with a stricter eye, and to chastise them with a severer hand. This is most evidently proved from the very different treatment which negro slaves ex-

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perience in the northern provinces from what they meet with in the southern, and in the West-Indies. In the former, namely, Pensylvania, the Jerseys, New-York, New-England, and Nova-Scotia, where their numbers are but small, compared with the whites, and where the wealth of their masters does not consist in them, they are treated much in the same manner as if they were whites; they are neither punished more severely, nor obliged to labour harder. It must be confessed it will ever be impracticable to treat them in the same manner in the southern colonies and islands. The nature of things will not permit it, but still a measure is to be observed.

Another bad consequence of the severe treatment and hard labour these poor creatures undergo is, the prodigious annual decrease of their numbers, which is so great that in the island of Barbadoes, where there are computed to be about seventy-five thousand blacks, an annual importation of no less than five thousand is required barely to keep up the stock. A circumstance which is perfectly amazing, especially when we consider the disproportion between the blacks and whites is not so great as the other islands; and consequently it may be supposed the treatment the former meet with is not so rigid; and likewise that Barbadoes is a very healthy climate, quite friendly to their constitutions, as much at least as their native country, where they are so wonderfully prolific

lific that, notwithstanding the immense drains annually made by the slave-trade, and the losses occasioned by their perpetual wars, their numbers have not sensibly decreased. If such be the yearly excess of deaths above births in Barbadoes, it must at least be proportionable in the other islands, from whence the sum of the whole may be easily computed. That it is solely occasioned by the severity of their masters, is evident from the following circumstance. There are some exceptions to this habitual severity of planters, and those who are so, find their advantages in it; for instead of being obliged to purchase supplies of new negroes to keep up their stock, they are known to turn out into their fields an additional number of working hands every year, born and bred upon their own estates. These instances are, however, at present so extremely rare, that it is to be feared they can never serve as an example.

But it is of the highest importance both to the interests of humanity, and what will be more attended to by some, to those of commerce, that a stop should be put to this daily waste and destruction of the human species, especially when the means of doing it, which have been already pointed out, are so easy and agreeable. But when men have once got into a certain tract, or bias, they are not easily driven out of it. For that purpose, some force or change of circumstances are often necessary. Were the laws now subsisting which oblige every planter to have a certain  
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proportion of white servants to his negroe slaves, to be strictly enforced it would be attended with many good consequences. But, perhaps, the most effectual measure would be to lay a pretty heavy duty per head upon all new negroes imported from Africa for the use of the plantations; we do not mean such a duty as would amount to a prohibition, but only such as would make the planter perceive it was for his interest rather to breed from his present stock of old negroes, than to keep up that stock by a constant purchase of new ones. Were this measure to take place, and to be pursued to its full extent and effects, it would not be in the least detrimental to commerce, or to the consumption of our manufactures, as some at first view might be apt to imagine. It is true, it might somewhat lessen the number of shipping now employed in the slaving-trade; but this would be more than compensated by a greater consumption of our manufactures. For the number of slaves continuing by supposition still the same, and those being all or at least for the most part creolians or natives, and consequently as is the case now, more valuable and industrious; both the habits of the slaves and the interest of the planters would require them to be better cloathed; all which is done from our manufactures. It is a wise dispensation of Providence, that a course of virtue, humanity, and benevolence, as it is most agree-

able to human nature, so in the matter of temporal concerns, it is likewise most profitable and advantageous. To induce one man, or set of men, to excel others in virtue, nothing is required but the possessing more enlightened understandings.

F I N I S.























